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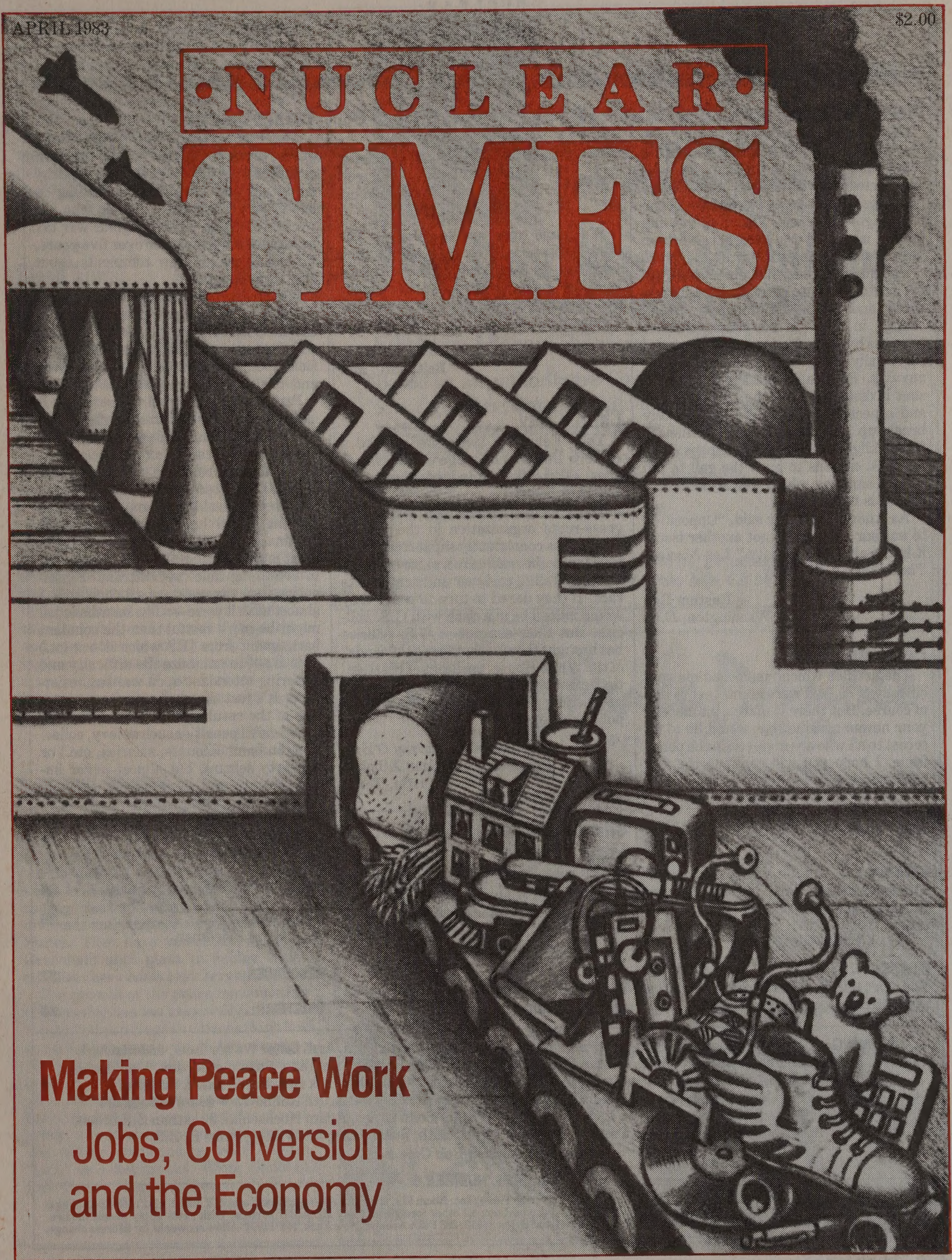
# NUCLEAR TIMES



## Making Peace Work

### Jobs, Conversion and the Economy

LETTERS

## Power Failure

Concerning the article ("Linking the Movements," *March '83*) that makes the connection between the nuclear weapons and nuclear power issue: I write to oppose this self-destruct mechanism in the most vigorous terms. Please do not mix up two issues. Work on either, work on both or neither, but don't mix them.

The nuclear freeze movement is an appropriately unique response to a unique threat and the most significant political change in style in 50 years. Nuclear power is by comparison a minor issue and essentially dead in the United States anyway. Politically, joining the two issues is disastrous—in the United States and especially abroad. We immediately break up an international coalition of forces aligned against N-weapons. And for U.S. citizens to have the gall to tell other countries which power source to choose is too much.

As Andrei Sakharov said, "Opposition to nuclear weapons is not another issue, it is the absolute priority." Let *Nuclear Times* keep it that way.

—Rustum Roy
Washington, D.C.

## Peace and War

The articles which mentioned me specifically (*Feb. '83*) were of interest to me, of course. But there is quite a bit more in your newsmagazine that would be of interest to all who are involved in the peace issue. I hope you will continue the fine work you are doing to encourage understanding and involvement in this important issue.

—Bishop Thomas J. Gumbleton
Auxiliary Bishop of Detroit
Detroit, Mich.

We found your article ("Jail Is The New Monastery," *Feb. '83*) insightful and very fair. In fact we've gotten letters in response, so it appears your magazine is getting around. We'll be back at the War Department during Holy Week.

—Phil Berrigan
Baltimore, Md.

## Church Key

Your February 1983 issue pinned a modern Luther's message on the church door. For where, indeed, have the churches been?

The churches, the single permanent grass-roots organization in the United States, has consistently supported (in return for innumerable favors) government in the spiraling cold war and armaments race. If they dared to turn to peace they would indeed be in a clash with U.S. policies. But their support of U.S. policies has brought them acceptance as "friends" of the White House, positions of prestige, tax exemptions, government largess, and leading places in implementing social policies of the U.S.

—Madalyn Murray O'Hair
President, American Atheists
Austin, Texas

## Taxing Question

Tom Fox's article (*Feb. '83*) provided a good overview of trends in the religious community but was necessarily sketchy on details and somewhat misleading on one or two particulars. As one who has worked in depth in the religious war tax resistance movement for over five years, I'd like to make a few comments about that form of action.

It is my belief that active war tax resistance is the most powerful way to stop the arms race in its tracks! Government and Pentagon officials make policy decisions about arms production, deployment and use. *But we buy the bombs!*

Perhaps support from the churches is slow in coming or reluctantly offered because of fear or misunderstanding about the consequences. Fox's article asks "Will they [the religious leadership] support tax resisters such as Hunthausen who face federal indictment and imprisonment?" IRS has the option of both criminal and civil penalties. Imprisonment is *almost never* used as a response to even long-time "recalcitrant" conscientious war tax resisters. (As one such, I almost wish it were—a few months in jail might be more restful than the constant harassment from IRS which is our lot.) This is not to minimize the difficulty and suffering attendant upon war tax resistance. It's just that an *accurate* expectation of the results of such actions would include civil penalties such as levy, collection (on bank accounts, salaries, etc.) or property seizure, but almost never imprisonment, and very rarely criminal

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charges of any kind. The new Tax Equity and Fiscal Responsibility Act of 1982 includes a number of provisions which indiate that conscientious war tax resistance is beginning to become a thorn in the side of IRS—and the Act makes doing war tax resistance more difficult than ever before. But those of us in the heart of the movement pray that this will only be a spur to greater activity.

—Eugenia Durland
Center on Law and Pacifism
Colorado Springs, Co.

## Blood Vows?

I am one of those who is in favor of a nuclear freeze and, in fact, started a peace committee in my church. So it was with great interest that I read the article "The Next Step—Acting on Faith?" (*Feb. '83*). Mention of a "Third Awakening" made me think: Does the author realize that the first and second awakenings (the American Revolution and the abolition of slavery) led to wars, the second one the most bloody war in our history? Does that mean that the third awakening will lead to war also?

I'll admit that I think that all three causes are just, but if they lead to war how does that ultimately justify them? It seems possible that war could result from the perception that America is weakened by nuclear reductions. I am willing to take that risk but I wonder if the author and your other contributors are accepting war as a possible outcome of nuclear arms reductions. If not, it seems to me that you are being dishonest with yourselves and your readers.

—Darrell Parsons
Greenbelt, Md.

## Common Ground

There is a footnote to the article in the February issue on the brave women demonstrating via a vigil at Greenham Common in England. These women, and the burgeoning peace groups supporting them in England, desperately need encouragement and words of unity from individuals and peace groups in the United States. They have vowed to remain at Greenham until plans to deploy cruise missiles there have been scrapped.

The growth of the peace movement in this country has not been well-publicized in England and English citizens think it is the will of the majority of Americans to place these dangerous new weapons on their soil. Genia Goelz is "twinning" English peace groups with peace groups in the United States. Send the name of your group, a contact person and address and you will be contacted by your English "twin" in a few weeks. Write Genia at Full Circle, Chagford, Devon, England.

—Jim Webster
Galena, Ill.

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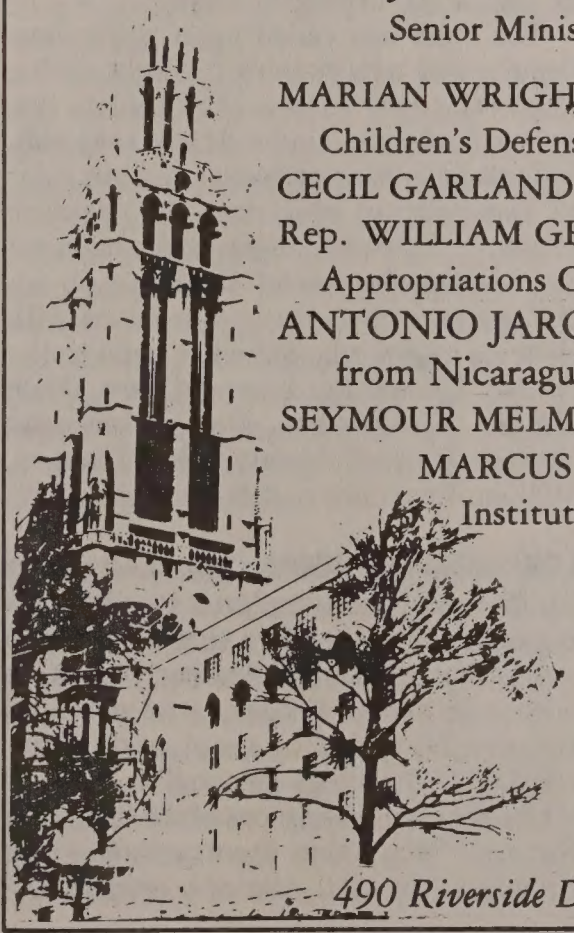

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# •EARLY WARNINGS•

**PRIME TIME FOR THE BOMB:** This fall millions of Americans will witness life after a nuclear war—that is, the television version of life after the bomb—when the American Broadcasting Company airs *The Day After*, a television movie starring Jason Robards. In the film Kansas City is destroyed during a U.S.-Soviet nuclear war, which begins as a conventional war. ABC's nuclear war starts in Europe when East Germany tries to leave the Soviet bloc. According to an ABC spokesman, the film goes to great lengths to ensure that viewers never know which side first used nuclear arms.

The movie, directed by Nicholas Meyer, focuses on the residents of Lawrence, 40 miles from Kansas City, who struggle to survive following the attack on Kansas City. It was originally scheduled for airing in May, and several peace movement groups in Kansas City and Lawrence were planning to stage actions and town hall meetings before and after the movie. The film was recently delayed until September, according to the spokesman, because ABC "wants to make it more of an event."

**ANTINUCLEAR OSCAR?:** When the winner in the best documentary short film category is announced at the Academy Awards on April 11, the odds are two out of five that the winning movie will have an antinuclear message. Two of the nominees in this category—*Gods of Metal* and *If You Love This Planet*—are highly critical of the arms race.

Both films also have another distinc-

**A scene from "Gods of Metal"**

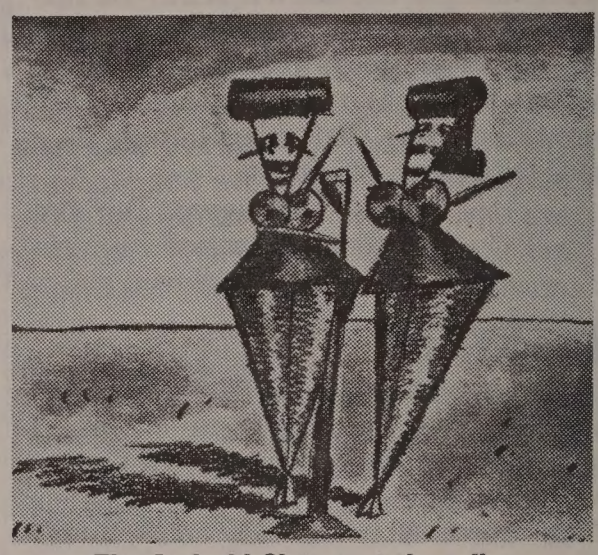
tion in common—controversy. *If You Love This Planet*, produced by the National Film Board of Canada, was recently declared "political propaganda" by the Justice Department *(see p. 26)*. *Gods of Metal*, produced by Robert Richter (who is now working on a film of the June 12 rally) for the Maryknolls, portrays the wide range of actions taken by American antinuclear activists. Distribution of the film in Louisiana has met with some resistance from the Archbishop of New Orleans, Philip Hannan. According to an aide, Hannan believes that the film is unbalanced. He has ruled that whenever the Maryknolls show *Gods of Metal* in Catholic parishes and schools, they must also show "the other side of the coin." And for Hannan the other side is a 20-minute videotape of a speech given by Senator Jeremiah Denton.

**GETTING TO KNOW YOU:** Roughly 80 percent of the House of Representatives and 58 U.S. Senators have had no direct contact with one of the most important subjects discussed on the Hill—the Soviet Union. Only about one in three members of the Politburo have visited the United States. To change this, the Federation of American Scientists is reviving its 10-year-old campaign to encourage reciprocal visits by U.S. and Soviet political leaders.

"Those most concerned about the Soviet threat are least inclined to investigate it," says FAS director Jeremy Stone. Direct exposure to the Soviet Union would turn hawks into "realistic hawks" who would recognize the limits of Soviet power, adds Bob Meriwether, staff assistant for the FAS Exchange Program. Doves would become more aware of the "suffocating" aspects of Soviet life and the Soviet political system. And visits to America "will leave in the minds of Soviet officials the impression that an arms race with a country so rich is so futile," according to Stone.

The FAS has called upon politicians, groups and newspapers to resist crying "junket" every time a U.S. official travels to the Soviet Union. It also asks individuals and organizations—on both sides of the political spectrum—to pressure those members of Congress who have not yet visited the Soviet Union to do so. Among senators closely associated with defense issues who have not been to the Soviet Union, for example, are Orrin Hatch, Christopher Dodd, Jeremiah Denton, Barry Goldwater, Paul Tsongas, William Proxmire and Jesse Helms.

**LOWERING THE BOOM:** Cartoonists Jules Feiffer and Bill Plympton are collaborating on an animated film that attacks the myth that military spending causes an economic boom. Feiffer, who is also a playwright, wrote the script, and Plympton did the drawings for the film, *Boom?*, which features the voices of the "Android Sisters," characters from a radio show broadcast by 200 stations around the



**The Android Sisters at the mike**

country. *Boom?*, which will be about seven minutes long, is scheduled for release in late May or June.

Valeria Wasilewski, one of the "Android Sisters," is producing the film, which she says will show the effect of increased military spending on people's lives. "By looking at our present economic reality, the film dissembles the myth of a military-created economic boom, which has been one justification for these high increases in military spending," says Wasilewski. Some labor unions, as well as disarmament groups, she says, have expressed interest in distributing the film. All profits from *Boom?*, she adds, will go to the Performing Artists for Nuclear Disarmament.

**TO SPOOF A MISSILE:** The Reagan Administration has repeatedly issued dark pronouncements on the SS-20 intermediate-range missile, dubbing it the most "destabilizing" of Soviet nuclear systems. But, it seems, the United States is now capable of destabilizing the SS-20, according to a recent report in *Aerospace Daily*, a defense industry insider newsletter. Using available technology, the United States can confuse the missile's guidance system, which navigates by the aid of a "star sight" (using the stars). The Pentagon, via its satellites, could feed false data to "spoof" the SS-20s, some 330 of which are aimed at Europe and Asia. By "spoofing" the missile, said one Pentagon official, "the mid-trajectory of the flight would go all to pieces." The article contained no confirmation from the Administration, which has been trying hard to convince the American people of Soviet nuclear superiority.

**SURPRISE ENDORSEMENT:** Representative Thomas Downey, a longtime freeze supporter and strong advocate of arms control, has come out for the confirma-



ILLUSTRATION BY BILL PLYMPTON

tion of Kenneth Adelman as director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. (The Senate is expected to decide Adelman's fate this month.) Downey calls Adelman "an arms-race theologue possessed of a firm grip on visceral right-wing arms control dogma, combined with a startlingly loose grip on the strategic facts of life." Nevertheless, Downey feels that Adelman should be confirmed because "his spectacular unfitness for the job is needed to focus the attention of the American electorate on the danger of a world without substantive arms control, and on the danger's root cause." He adds, "Chess games are not won by attacking a bishop and neglecting the king. Ronald Reagan is president for four years, and is entitled to the team he desires and for which he must bear responsibility. Let him have his bishop. To win, humanity must take the king."

**THIS IS ONLY A TEST:** How do you react to a nuclear attack? The Army has designed a test to measure how well its soldiers will respond to a "nuclear burst." According to a 1981 Army manual, *Soldier's Manual of Common Tasks*, a commanding officer should evaluate a soldier's reaction to an attack by simulating a surprise nuclear blast. To do so, the officer suddenly shouts out "Brilliant flash" or uses the flash attachment of a camera while the soldier is busy with some other task.

How is the soldier graded? The "Evaluation Guide" for this test includes six criteria on which the soldier is graded pass or fail. Did he close his eyes, drop to the ground, fall so his head is away from the flash of light, place his hands under his body, keep his face down and his head tucked, and stay down until the "blast wave passes and debris stops falling"? For "training purposes," the manual notes, this last step requires that he *remain* down for 10 to 15 seconds.

If all steps are passed, the soldier is scored "GO." But if he fails to perform any of these measures, he receives a "NO-GO" rating but lives to be tested another day.

**AN OUNCE OF PREVENTION:** "It could be we'll start a trend—at the very least we can set an example for others by our action," says Sister Claudia Deats, peace and justice coordinator of the Order of St. Francis in Colorado Springs, Colorado. The order recently decided not to sell land it owns in Albuquerque, New Mexico, to Monolithic Memories of Sunnyvale, California, after members discovered that the electronics company manufactured microchips for use in nuclear weapons.

"Selling our land to Monolithic," says Deats, "would violate what we stand for as religious women and as members of the Catholic Church." The land is still for sale, and will only be sold to a "peaceable" industry.

**LIFTING THEIR GLASS:** So enamored is the Pentagon with its growing cruise missile capability, it can barely restrain itself from finding new missions for the small, high-speed, jet-propelled bomb. Cruise missiles are already scheduled for deployment on bombers, ships, submarines and land launchers. Now the Defense Nuclear Agency is running a study on the possibility of arming the Marine Corps with a mobile "ground-launched anti-ship system" (GLASS), employing the Tomahawk cruise missile. Up to now the Marine Corps has been left out of the Pentagon's cruise missile plans.

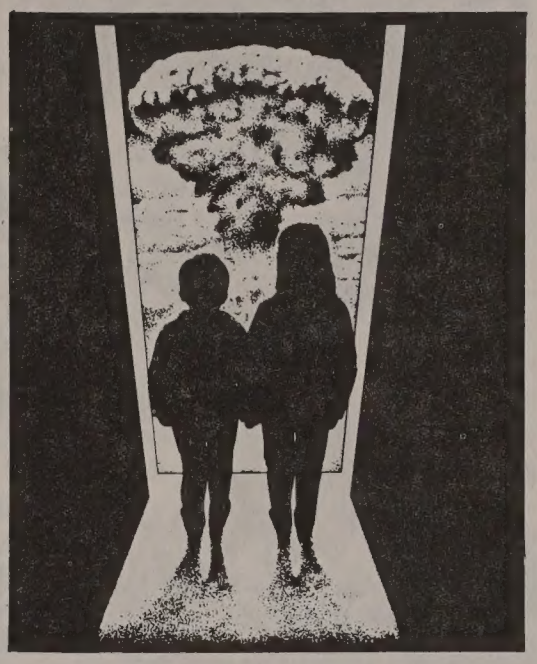
GLASS could be used by the Marine Corps to defend the U.S. coastline, support the Rapid Deployment Force or bottle up the Soviet Navy at strategic choke points around the world. The Pentagon has claimed that the 280-mile range Tomahawk would permit it to close up the "Iceland-United Kingdom gap," shut down the eastern Mediterranean from Sicily, and strike Vladivostok from South Korea or Japan. Other GLASS sites under study include Norway, Denmark, Oman and Kenya. The total bill for GLASS would be around $2.2 billion.

**A STRIKING PETITION:** Are 20 million Americans an acceptable loss in a nuclear exchange? According to Colin Gray, appointed by President Reagan to the advisory board of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, that is the estimated number of lives that will be lost in a limited nuclear war with the Soviet Union. This figure, he has said, represents an "acceptable cost."

Women Strike for Peace, a Philadelphia-based disarmament group, disagrees. It has launched a national coupon campaign to encourage individuals to tell Reagan that they reject the notion of 20 million "acceptable" dead. The coupon—now being placed in magazines and community newspapers across the nation—calls for people to sign, clip and mail it to Reagan. "I am not a statistic," the coupon reads. "I and my family refuse to be part of the 20 MILLION ACCEPTABLE DEAD SCENARIO!"

**CHILD'S PLAY:** When the Riverside Church in New York opens its fifth annual convocation to reverse the arms race on April 17, it will do so with a performance of the musical *Peace Child*. The play, which carries the message that peace can be achieved, was first performed in London's Royal Albert Hall in October 1981 and premiered in the United States last December at the Ken-


## Nuclear Survival Films



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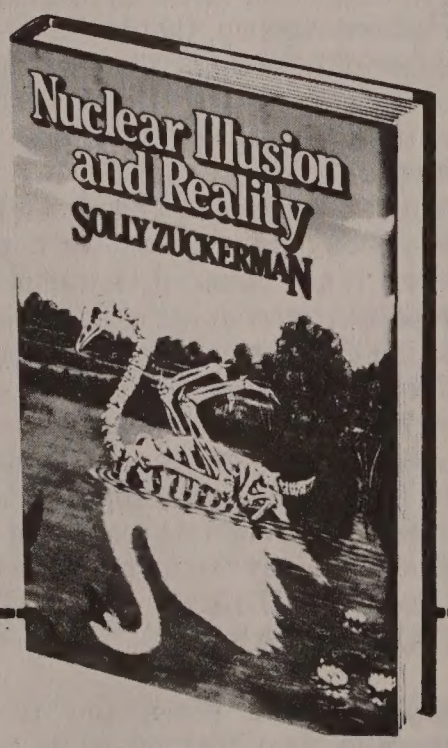


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nedy Center, with Susannah York in the lead role. The Peace Child Foundation is planning to take the show on a tour of the United States this fall, and on an international tour in 1984 to all the nations that possess nuclear weapons.

The cast of *Peace Child* is composed of four adults and a chorus of over 100 children. Wherever it is performed, local children are auditioned for the chorus. Those selected are given artistic control. "They are encouraged to be their own playwrights," says David Woollcombe, co-director of the foundation, "and to update the text with their own thoughts about peace."

**ATOMIC WIDOWS:** The U.S. government faces an increase in lawsuits pressed by a growing group of angry citizens. At the first national Atomic Widows conference, held in February in Oakland, California, sponsored by the National Association of Radiation Survivors (NARS), women from around the country gathered to listen to talks by doctors, lawyers, and fellow "atomic" widows—women who believe their husbands died as a result of radiation exposure brought about by U.S. nuclear weapons testing. Victims who have gone to court seeking damages from the government have had little success to date.

During the two-day conference the women exchanged legal advice, shared information about the medical and genetic effects of radiation exposure, and discussed network-building. "It was so exciting for these women to discover that they are not alone," says Dorothy Largeretta, administrative director of NARS. Largeretta says that she expects to see many more law suits filed as the widows mobilize.

**FOLLOW THE FUNDS:** What's the best way to see where the movement is heading? One way is to watch those who are responsible for the movement's funding—the private foundations and individuals who last year donated over $11 million to antinuclear weapons groups. When about 90 members of the funding community met in Washington, D.C., on March 11-12, the top subjects for discussion were Euromissiles and the military budget. Mary Kaldor of European Nuclear Disarmament and Andreas Zumach of Action Reconciliation (*see "Interview," p.14*) addressed the funders, Kaldor noting that European activists "are adamant about stopping the cruise and Pershing II and will accept no compromise in Geneva." One result of the meeting, says Robert Steiner of the Forum Institute, which helped organize the conference, is that there may be more funding support forthcoming for American-based groups engaged in "Euromissile activity." □

CHARGING UP HILL

# Freeze Looks Beyond House Vote

With the freeze resolution nearing passage in the House of Representatives, the freeze campaign last month began to train its sights on the Senate, where success is far more doubtful.

When several thousand freeze activists from across the country travelled to Washington, D.C.,on March 7 and 8 to lobby for the freeze, the Senate resolution, as a subject of discussion, was eclipsed only by the pending House vote. Freeze campaign leaders expected the resolution to clear the House the following week, but the House, after debating the freeze for 13 hours on March 16, postponed the final vote until after Easter.

During the "Citizens Lobby" days, when close to 7000 freeze activists pressed their representatives in Congress for positive votes on the resolution, freeze supporters discussed the road ahead. Following the House vote, the campaign plans to lobby Congress to delay funds for the testing of new nuclear weapons systems, contingent on Soviet restraint, and to establish itself as a force in the 1984 presidential and congressional elections.

But the campaign's most immediate goal following the House endorsement is a strong showing in the Senate. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee is expected to begin hearings on the freeze this month in preparation for the full Senate vote early this summer on the freeze resolution, introduced by Senators Edward Kennedy and Mark Hatfield. By all accounts, the campaign faces an uphill battle in the Senate.

Freeze supporters in both the House and Senate doubt the measure will pass. The freeze resolution "does not have a chance in the Senate now," says Senator Alan Cranston. Representative Edward Markey, a leading supporter of the freeze, estimates that in the Senate "there are 40 potential votes." Speaking before a lobby day training seminar for 1200 local freeze organizers on March 7, Randall Forsberg, author of the original call for a freeze, told the crowd that if the freeze resolution gains 40 votes in the Senate it would be a strong showing.

Representative James Leach, a Republican freeze supporter, feels that the Senate may pass some type of measure, weaker than the freeze. Following such a vote a House-Senate conference committee would attempt to fashion a compromise. "It is extraordinarily hard to predict what that might be," Leach says. "I hope it will have some teeth. But a compromise could cause a toothless giant to emerge."

### TAKING THE HILL

During the lobby days, over 400 representatives and senators received pro-freeze delegations from their districts. Freeze supporters from 45 states—armed with facts, arguments and petitions—occupied the halls of the Senate and House office buildings. When the House Foreign Affairs Committee debated the freeze resolution on March 8, several hundred activists lined the hallway outside the hearing room. As Senator Edward Kennedy, other congressional supporters and freeze campaign leaders spoke at a noontime rally in front of the Capitol that day, freeze supporters were meeting with their representatives and senators in congressional offices across the street. Well-dressed and adopting a professional manner, the lobbyists attempted to represent a campaign that takes itself seriously.

Speaking at the rally before a crowd of several thousand, Randy Kehler, national coordinator of the freeze campaign, pledged that there will be "a Citizens Lobby number two, number three, four, five and six, and as many as we have to have. This is a campaign that will not go away." Senator Kennedy told the crowd that their presence in Washington would be needed again when the Senate takes up the freeze.

But it is hard to measure the exact influence the lobby days had on Congress. Freeze supporters who met with members of Congress offered mixed reports.

Representative Ike Skelton of Missouri told the freeze activists with whom he met that because they were not privy to intelligence reports he has seen as a member of the Armed Services Committee, they were not able to make accurate judgments on the merits of the freeze, according to freeze supporter Mary Beth Shannon, who was at the meeting.

Representative J.J. Pickle, from Texas, identified as a swing vote by the freeze campaign, told freeze lobbyists that he was "concerned my granddaughter will not grow up to live." But he expressed reservations about the freeze because it would freeze U.S. nuclear weapons but not necessarily Soviet arms. When freeze activists told Pickle that the measure does not call for unilateral action, he seemed surprised and admitted that he had not yet read the bill. Before rushing out of the meeting to make a floor vote, Pickle said he would study the freeze resolution.

Freeze lobbyists also had a hard time with Senator Alfonse D'Amato from New York and John Danforth from Missouri. D'Amato originally refused to meet with the freeze supporters, claiming his schedule did not permit it. Nevertheless, freeze activists from New York—more than a thousand of them—marched sin-

**Freeze lobbyists surround Senator D'Amato in the hall outside his Capitol Hill office**

PHOTO BY STEVEN BORNS

gle file to D'Amato's office to sign his visitors book and present 280,000 signatures on petitions calling for a freeze. The action virtually shut down the Senator's office. About 30 minutes after the freeze lobbyists had arrived, D'Amato's staff told them that the Senator had just landed at the airport and would meet with them shortly.

Senator John Danforth, another Republican, told the 70 freeze lobbyists who crowded into his office that "it is very important you continue to do what you're doing—come to Washington, circulate petitions, go door to door. This is the moral issue of the day." Danforth criticized the Reagan Administration for doing "an inadequate job" on arms control, but he would not support the freeze.

Though Danforth refused to accept their arguments, several freeze lobbyists said the meeting was worthwhile. "If someone could convince him of the illogic in the connections he's making," said one Missouri activist, "I'm sure he would support the freeze. We're just not on the same wavelength."

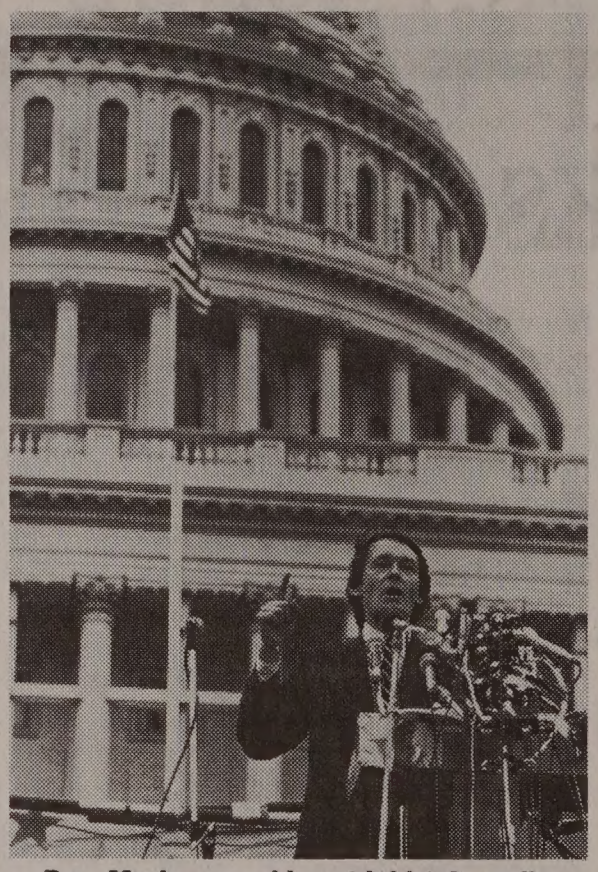
Even supporters of the freeze received some flak from the visitors. Freeze lobbyists who met with Representative Silvio Conte, a Republican from Massachusetts who has endorsed the freeze, expressed some disappointment. "He would not confront the arms race as a whole," said freeze supporter Jerry King. "He'll only nibble around the edge. When we asked him for his strategy for stopping first-strike weapons he said, in effect, that he didn't have any."

King said that he found congressional lobbying to be a frustrating exercise. "I understand that professional lobbyists are very effective," he added. "They're up here every day of the week. Congress is just not organized to stop a determined push by the Pentagon."

Representative Ron Dellums, a leading freeze supporter, says that the lobbying and the Capitol Hill rally "in and of themselves won't stop anything." But he adds, "If this is a step toward greater activism on the part of the peace movement, it serves an important purpose. This tells Congress that no longer is it going to be able to make decisions about the life of our planet in the dark."

### APPLE PIE & THE FREEZE

Organizers of the lobby days emphasized that the purpose of the event was to make pressure visible and to show that the freeze movement is, as Reuben McCornack, the campaign's Washington representative, puts it, "a political force." After the freeze lobbyists left McCornack observed, "We made a qualitative leap in how the freeze movement is perceived in political circles."



**Rep. Markey speaking at lobby day rally**

He explains: "Many people on the Hill have seen us as naive, idealistic people—though advocating a worthy goal, not practical-minded, not understanding the real world. The lobby shattered that perception. They see we're beginning to put pressure on, the way it counts." McCornack also says that the lobbyists did have some direct impact. For instance, he notes, freeze supporters reported that Senator Charles Mathias was more receptive to the freeze in his meeting with them than he had been in the past.

"From what was said at the meeting," says Jack Eddinger, Mathias' press secretary, "it is clear that he has come a few more steps toward the freeze position." According to Eddinger, Mathias, a Republican from Maryland, believes the freeze movement "has a great deal of merit." Mathias, he adds, is "coming around to believing that there is a common ground between the movement and his own beliefs."

But if the freeze campaign is on its way to becoming a political force capable of swaying congressmen, it has not yet achieved widespread recognition as such in Washington. The campaign invited all the announced and unannounced presidential candidates—including President Reagan—to address a convocation of 3000 freeze activists on March 7. Only one—Senator Cranston—accepted.

Throughout the lobby days, leaders of the freeze campaign vowed that congressmen and the presidential candidates who do not support the freeze will have a tough time in 1984. And to win the support of the freeze campaign, they will have to do more than simply support the freeze resolution in Congress.

As Forsberg put it at the organizer's seminar, "There is no risk with the freeze resolution—anyone can endorse motherhood, apple pie and a nuclear freeze." The true test of freeze support, she said, would be if members of Congress support the campaign's effort to attach amendments to funding bills for new nuclear weapons declaring that these systems cannot be tested as long as the Soviet Union does not test a comparable system. "This will show us," Forsberg said, "who are our sincere supporters."

"We are challenging the Soviets and Congress to put their money where there mouth is," said Forsberg. "We've heard a lot about the Soviet peace offensive . . . . We'll be saying to the Soviet Union, 'If you mean what you say about stopping the arms race, join with us'." The stumbling block, she added, might be Congress and not the Soviet Union.

Defunding nuclear testing will not be easy. Reuben McCornack told the organizers that passing these amendments will be "ten times harder" than passing the House freeze resolution. And if there is not a majority in the Senate in favor of the non-binding freeze resolution, it is unlikely that the campaign will be able to get these amendments through the Senate. But this could change, says McCornack, if the freeze campaign can mobilize enough support to convince members of Congress that supporting the freeze is a political life-and-death issue.

### LOOKING TO '85

But in the meantime, the campaign is looking ahead to the 1984 elections. During lobby days, Forsberg outlined the campaign's goals for 1984: a president who not merely supports the freeze, but who will press actively for it; 10 new senators who back the freeze; and 25 new representatives "who will fight for the freeze."

If these political goals are achieved, Forsberg said, conditions would be ripe in early 1985 for a major step toward halting the arms race. A U.S.-Soviet moratorium on the production, testing and deployment of nuclear weapons could be initiated, she said, and negotiations on issues of verification and questions of definition begun. This treaty, she added, would be complicated and take two or three years to be completed.

At a Capitol Hill press conference during lobby days Randy Kehler noted that the freeze campaign has far to go. "It is still in its infancy," he said. And as Forsberg put it: "The freeze resolution is only the beginning." **—David Corn**



PHOTO BY STEVEN BORNS

# Churches Attack Weapon Business

Since 1974 church groups filing shareholder resolutions have made their presence felt in the airplane hangars, public libraries, company cafeterias and Hyatt hotels where the annual meetings of some of America's largest corporations are staged. This year an unprecedented number of groups are filing resolutions opposing military business carried on by companies across the country.

Coordinated by the New York-based Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, 115 organizations and individuals will be filing resolutions at the annual meetings of 19 major companies. The total number of shares held by filers is 850,000, worth $42.2 million (according to a January 1983 computation). The shareholder actions have already begun, but the majority will take place in late April and early May.

The resolutions press for a variety of management policy changes, including evaluation of involvement in the MX and cruise missile programs and withdrawal from bidding on weapons that would be cancelled by a freeze.

Even when soundly defeated the shareholder resolutions have educational value. "The proposals get a token vote," says Thomas C. Bertone of the Holy Cross Fathers and delegate to the Tri-state Coalition For Responsible Investment. "About all we can hope to accomplish is to make people [shareholders] aware of what these companies are involved in." Bertone feels that people with stock in huge and diversified corporations are often unaware of the range of enterprises their stocks are helping to finance.

One major action is directed by 58 filers holding 173,150 shares of American Telephone and Telegraph stock valued at $11.8 million. It opposes the renewal of a contract by AT&T to manage the Sandia National Laboratory in New Mexico, a research and development facility for nuclear weapons technology. ICCR resolutions against the production of nuclear weapon components will be filed with Allied, AT&T, DuPont, General Dynamics, General Electric, General Telephone and Electronics, McDonnell Douglas, Monsanto, Rockwell International, TRW and Union Carbide.

### INSIDE & OUT

While resolutions are being formally introduced at the annual meetings, demonstrations outside will draw public attention to the involvement of corporations in the nuclear weapons business. Tim Smith, executive director of ICCR, says that as a rule ICCR demonstrations stop short of civil disobedience. Some filers among the ICCR shareholders, however, such as William Whistler, an engineer employed by GE until 1980 when he left his job for "reasons of conscience," are prepared to go further.

Whistler, who worked on the Atlas, the first intercontinental ballistic missile, while employed by GE, is now a member of the Pennsylvania-based Brandywine Community. At last year's GE annual meeting in Richmond, Virginia, Brandywine conducted its first public showing of an MK12A missile casing, which it then proceeded to display around the country. Brandywine members also went inside the meeting hall and interrupted the comments of the chairman of the board. (One ICCR filer noted that the vote following those actions was "disappointing"—suggesting that militant demonstrations that raise public interest can cost shareholder support.)

This year Brandywine does not plan to go to GE's annual meeting on April 20 in Columbus, Ohio, where Whistler, who owns 92 shares in the company, will introduce a resolution calling for the demilitarization of outer space. But prior to the meeting, he and approximately 25 others plan to "blockade" a GE plant in Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, to protest its work on space communication systems Whistler calls "the voice of nuclear war."

The first shareholder resolution of 1983 was voted on at the February 9 meeting in Pittsburgh of Rockwell, a company that manufactures explosive components for all U.S. nuclear weapons. The Thomas Merton Center in Pittsburgh organized a press conference and a local demonstration around the meeting. The Rockwell filers won 3.74 percent of all outstanding (tradeable) shares. This was considered a substantial victory by ICCR's Militarism Program director, Valerie Heinonen, who explained that the resolution was filed on the strength of 650 shares and picked up support from two million other shares. The vote was also significant because a resolution is required by the Securities Exchange Commission to draw a 3 percent vote to stay on the ballot for the next year, then 6 and 10 percent in the ensuing two years.

Thomas Bertone is participating in the April 20 filing at the GTE annual meeting in Stamford, Connecticut. The resolution concerns the Command, Control, Communications and Intelligence ($C^3I$) System for the MX missile that GTE is working on in its Westboro, Massachusetts, division. The 15 agencies filing the resolution are, according to Bertone, calling for a committee to evaluate corporate involvement in the MX program and for economic conversion plans to protect workers in case the MX is not passed by Congress. GTE is challenging the placement of the resolution on the ballot.

### GOODWILL GESTURES

One company, Union Carbide, is fending off praise from filers whose resolution commends its withdrawal from the production of nuclear weapons at the Y-12 plant in Oak Ridge, Tennessee. A company spokeswoman explained that the commendation is being challenged on the grounds that the decision to withdraw

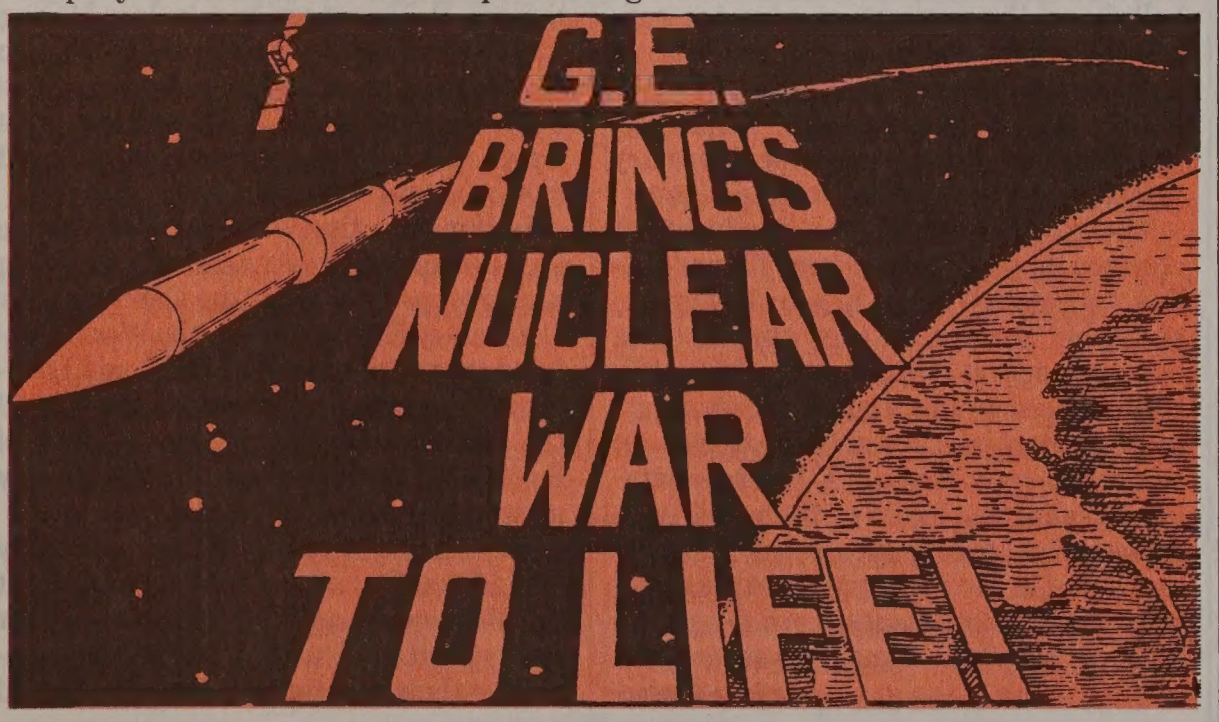



ILLUSTRATION BY JOHN GUMMERE COURTESY OF BRANDYWINE PEACE COMMUNITY PAMPHLET

was made on purely business—not ethical—grounds.

Some corporations are, however, making gestures of goodwill towards the filers. Velma Shearer, a resolution filer from the Church of the Brethren in Elgin, Illinois, notes that the chairman of the board of Monsanto, John Hanley, met with her and other filers to hear their views. Shearer says that Hanley "listened to the conversation very closely and respectfully and said that he would give attention to the matter and take the substance of the presentation to the board."

ICCR's Heinonen reports that Du Pont officials are currently in the process of scheduling a meeting to have "top management meet with shareholder representatives to discuss the ethics of nuclear weapons and questions around the freeze." The idea of this meeting was precipitated by a shareholder freeze resolution filed on December 20, 1982.

The corporations' general position on ICCR resolutions is that public policy—in this case the decision to build nuclear weapons—is properly set by government and the public and not by private business. In response, Heinonen argues that corporations sometimes lobby on behalf of weapons production, initiate research and development that attracts government interest, and actively market their defense wares at the Pentagon. "There are documented cases of lobbying," Heinonen says. "For instance, around the time of the B-1 bomber bill [that called for a delay in production] Rockwell had employees write their congressmen—they were provided with stamped, addressed envelopes and forms to fill out."

One immediate worry of Heinonen is the expected new ruling by the SEC on shareholder filing laws. This could affect the type of resolution permitted on the ballot and the percentage of voter support necessary to carry it. Change in either of these areas could affect the ICCR's ability to continue employing shareholder resolutions as their primary strategy for pressuring management.

The ICCR's power to actually effect changes they call for is, as one filer admitted, "minimal." According to Heinonen, about 80 percent of the shareholders have already cast their votes by proxy before the meeting, thus severely limiting the potential of a resolution to pick up the swing-vote. While ICCR representatives realize the limits of their ability to directly change corporate policy, they retain belief in the potential moral suasiveness of their arguments, both for shareholders, people in management, and the public.

**—Corinna Gardner**

**GROUND ZERO GAME**

# Playing Nuclear War and Peace

This month tens of thousands of people across the country, including presidential candidate Walter Mondale, will participate in Ground Zero's simulation of nuclear war. The Washington, D.C.-based group has sent out copies of its *FIREBREAKS: A War/Peace Game* to 3000 church and civic groups and high school and college classes, all of which are expected to "play" it.

The game presents a scenario that takes place five years in the future, when a civil war in Yugoslavia threatens to cause a U.S.-Soviet clash. Each group playing the game, says Theo Brown of Ground Zero, will divide into two sides—those who are advisers to the president of the United States and those who are advisers to the secretary general of the Soviet Communist party. "The people playing," says Brown, "will be trying to get into somebody else's shoes—those who will advise whether or not to use nuclear weapons."

The game consists of a series of four weekly "moves," developments in the escalating crisis. With each move, explains Brown, each side will be given a set of options from which to choose. The first three moves are contained in the game kit Ground Zero has sent out. The final move, scheduled for the last week in the month, is the only one that contains a nuclear option. It will be mailed in mid-April to those participating in the game. "In the last move," says Brown, "we're going to take the world to the brink."

According to Brown, Walter Mondale said he will participate in *FIREBREAKS* in Iowa, but probably not as a player who chooses specific options.

The last week of *FIREBREAKS* is scheduled to coincide with another Ground Zero project—"What About the Russians?" Week. During the week of April 24-30, Ground Zero will sponsor lectures and seminars in 30 cities on the Soviet Union and how better U.S.-Soviet relations can be achieved. "This is a complex issue, and this week is a pilot program," says Ground Zero's Ellis Woodward. Woodward added that the Soviet Union and the question of trust is an emotional issue that is hard to handle. "A year ago we would never have considered a 'What About the Russians?' Week, for fear that we would get hauled off to Reagan's gulag," he says. "If it's successful, we might try to do it again in the fall. It's risky for us."

**—David Corn**

**AT U.S.S.R. MISSION**

# Activists Protest Soviet Arrest

Representatives of several New York-based peace and human rights groups met with Leonid Bidni, first secretary of the Soviet Mission to the United States on March 1 to express their concern for the members of the independent Soviet peace group. The meeting marked what British peace activist E.P. Thompson had declared "Oleg Radzinsky Day." A member of the Group To Establish Trust Between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S., Radzinsky was arrested in October and is now interned in a psychiatric hospital.

In their meeting with Bidni, the peace and human rights activists, representing such groups as SANE, the Campaign for Democracy East and West, the World Conference on Religion and Peace, and Democratic Socialists of America, protested the Soviet government's harassment of Radzinsky, noting that such activity only undermines Soviet peace initiatives.

During the meeting Bidni repeatedly denied that he had any information about the Moscow group. "There is no need for any opposition," he said. "There is no basis for their existence." He also denied that the group was being harassed, adding that Sergei Batovrin, a member of the group who was arrested and released last year, was arrested because he had been found drunk in his apartment building shouting obscenities. Bidni claimed that members of the group ignored existing channels for discussion on nuclear war issues, such as the local "societies of knowledge."

"The peaceniks did have their petition read in one of those societies in Moscow," says one of the activists who attended the meeting, Cathy Fitzpatrick of Helsinki Watch. "A supporter of the group read it and invited people to sign it. A number of those who did were later interrogated by the police."

At the end of the hour-long meeting, Bidni refused to accept materials relating to the Group To Establish Trust, explaining, "We're trying to disassociate ourselves from you—the peace movement." But he said earlier, "That you exist coincides with our peace interest." One activist responded: "We feel that the existence of the Moscow group coincides with our interests."

**—D.C.**

A "NUCLEAR TIMES" GUIDE

# Arms Control & The Candidates

As the presidential campaign gets underway, the field is already crowded with candidates. The Democratic hopefuls have widely varying commitments to, and expertise in, the nuclear arms control issue. But all of the candidates except one—Reubin Askew—have endorsed the nuclear freeze proposal, and at least one candidate, Senator Alan Cranston, is making the threat of nuclear war the central focus of his campaign. On the Republican side, Ronald Reagan's hostility to arms control needs no elaboration. However, if Reagan chooses not to run for reelection, it is conceivable that the Republican standard bearer may be more interested in halting the arms race. Such speculation can wait until Reagan announces his intentions, now expected sometime this summer or fall.

Here is how the Democratic candidates stand on arms control issues:

**REUBIN ASKEW**
*former Governor of Florida*

Askew's positions on arms control are largely unknown, if not unformed. Members of his staff say he supports the SALT II Treaty. He opposes the freeze, although he "believes in what the freeze stands for." Reportedly, he favors a comprehensive test ban and, in view of the difficulty of basing the MX missile, supports an alternative land-based missile.

At present the Askew campaign is barely visible on the national scene.

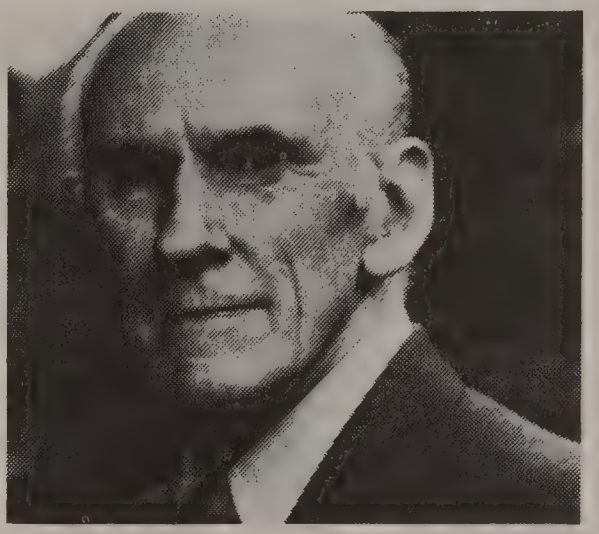
**DALE BUMPERS**
*Senator from Arkansas*

Bumpers has been an effective and reliable leader on a number of crucial arms control issues during his eight years in the Senate. Along with three or four other senators, he led the fight against the MX, arguing against the missile itself as well as the various basing proposals. He has consistently worked to delete funding for the B-1 bomber on the grounds that it is an exorbitant, unnecessary weapon system that diverts funds from conventional forces. Bumpers also has played a lead role in opposing the Clinch River Breeder Reactor, the reactivation of World War II battleships, and

the continued building of large nuclear aircraft carriers.

When ratification of the SALT II Treaty was pending in the Senate, Bumpers was an outspoken supporter of the treaty. When the freeze issue first arose in the Senate, he co-sponsored both the pro-freeze Kennedy-Hatfield resolution and the pro-START Jackson-Warner measure. But now he unequivocally supports the freeze. (Bumpers' wife, Betty, founder of Peace Links, has become a prominent spokeswoman for the freeze.) Bumpers has been inconsistent in his position on new chemical weapons, which would be produced in his home state, voting against the project in 1980 and 1981, and for the project in 1982. He has also spoken out in favor of accelerated development of the Stealth bomber, the air-launched cruise missile and the Trident II missile.

Bumpers is an authentic dark horse candidate, with little name recognition on the national level. He also alienated himself from some of organized labor by opposing the Labor Law Reform Act and "local content" legislation. On the positive side, Bumpers has a political history of rising out of nowhere, a gift for public speaking and a reputation as an effective and courageous senator.



**ALAN CRANSTON**
*Senator from California*

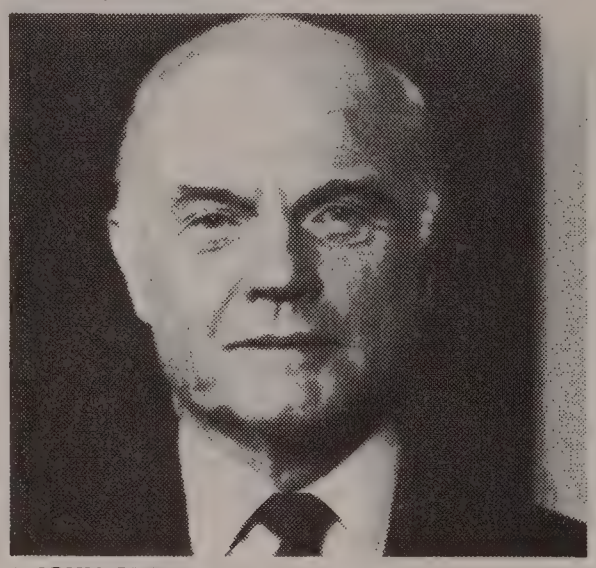
In announcing his candidacy, Cranston declared that ending the threat of nuclear war will be "the dominating goal of my presidency. It will take precedence over all others." Two weeks later, when he loudly opposed the appointment of Kenneth Adelman as head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, President Reagan accused Cranston of playing politics.

Cranston has long demonstrated a commitment to arms control. He has exerted a positive influence in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee—he serves on its Arms Control subcommittee—by promoting the SALT II Treaty and more recently by his efforts to substitute the freeze resolution for the noncommittal resolution offered by the chairman, Senator Charles Percy. Cranston co-sponsored both Kennedy-Hatfield and Jackson-Warner when they were introduced in March, 1982, and entertained hopes of fashioning a compromise resolution.

Cranston founded and led the SALT Study Group—over 20 senators who met regularly to educate themselves on the strategic arms agreement with the hope of aiding its passage in the Senate. Last year Cranston attempted to focus Senate attention on the dangers of adopting a ballistic missile defense. He has consistently called for lower military spending. Cranston has a near-perfect arms control voting record, with the notable exception of supporting the B-1 bomber which is assembled in his state.

Cranston's chances are thought to be slim, in part because some people feel he doesn't "look presidential." The odds are

also supposed to be against him because of his age and short supply of charisma. However, he has the support of his home state, which will have the largest delegation to the 1984 convention. He also possesses a proven ability to fund raise, and an excellent reputation in the Senate, where he is the Minority Whip.



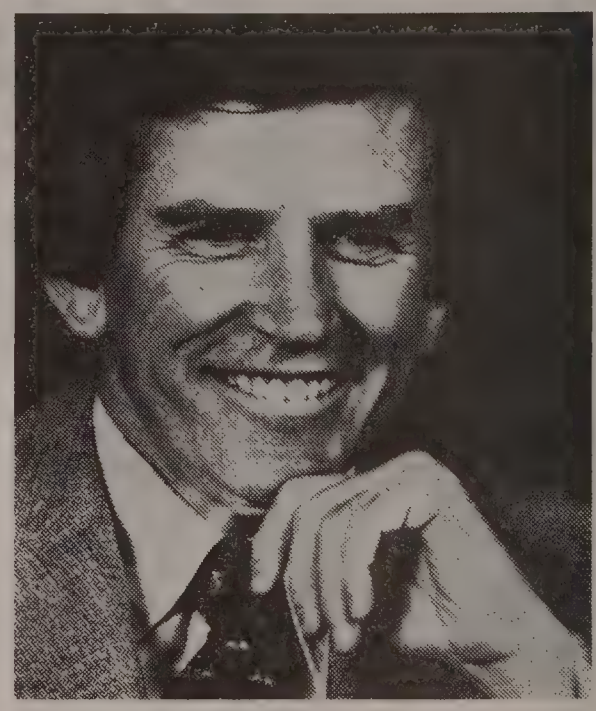
**JOHN GLENN**
*Senator from Ohio*

John Glenn's record on arms control issues in the Senate is consistent with his efforts to stake out the middle ground between his Democratic rivals. His support for negotiated arms control, once quite shaky, has increased over the past year but his voting record is mixed at best.

Glenn did not co-sponsor the Kennedy-Hatfield freeze proposal but he did support the freeze when it came before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last year. (He co-sponsored the resolution this year.) During committee consideration of the SALT II Treaty, Glenn played an obstructionist role and cast his vote against the agreement. Glenn has since changed his position in favor of the treaty, noting that he is now confident we could adequately verify Soviet compliance. In 1981 he offered an amendment to bar U.S. military activities that would undercut the SALT agreement.

On the MX, Glenn has voted in various ways. Several times he pushed his preferred scheme of trucking a smaller missile around the interstate highways. Glenn has voted against eight out of the nine attempts made in the last four years to control the Pentagon budget. In 1982 he voted in favor of chemical weapons, aircraft carriers and the B-1 bomber. (Ohio has extensive B-1 contracts.) He voted against efforts to block the reactivation of old battleships and the production of neutron weapons. But Glenn has led the fight for more effective legislation halting the spread of nuclear weapons to other countries.

Since Senator Edward Kennedy's withdrawal from the race, Glenn has assumed second place, behind Mondale but well ahead of the other candidates. At this early stage he seems to be campaigning on the theme that he is the Democrat with the best chance of beating Reagan.



**GARY HART**
*Senator from Colorado*

Gary Hart is a prominent member of the "military reform" school and a big fan of the Navy. He favors a stronger defense, one that is "the most effective and not merely the most expensive." From his position on the Senate Armed Services Committee, he speaks knowledge-

**MEN WHO WOULD BE "KING"**

# Should Campaign Top Agenda?

Two hundred years ago the Founding Fathers chose representative democracy as the form of government for the new nation. In so doing, they placed the ultimate responsibility for the security of the republic in the hands of its citizens.

But in 1945 a new threat to the nation's security emerged—nuclear war. Some scientists and other observers trumpeted the alarm, but to no avail. The citizens of the republic, weary of war, left the waging of the new war, the Cold War, to a body of experts who had been weaned on the success of brute force in World War II and saw the same brute force as the only solution to the threat posed by the Soviet Union.

Never was this abandonment of responsibility by the U.S. public more clear than in the first of the post-war presidential elections. Presidential campaigns are unique in providing an opportunity for dialogue on critical national issues, especially those relating to security, the responsibility for which is vested so clearly by the Constitution in the executive branch. But in the 1948 campaign, there was nary a whisper of the inevitable and profound threat of nuclear war—in spite of the incumbent having made the decision which led to the fighting and winning of a short and very one-sided nuclear war.

1952 was no different. In 1956, the nuclear war issue arose briefly in the narrow and bogus form of a non-existent "bomber gap." The same thing happened in 1960, but with a non-existent "missile gap." In spite of the Cuban missile crisis of October, 1962, which jarred the nuclear priesthood into realizing that even 20,000 nuclear weapons and overwhelming superiority could not insure security, the 1964 campaign produced no real dialogue on the nuclear war issue, save for the controversy over a short-lived Democratic ad implicitly portraying Barry Goldwater as a nuclear hip-shooter.

Election years 1968, 1972, 1976, and 1980 followed the pattern set in previous campaigns with neither party attempting to engage the public in a serious discussion on the threat of nuclear holocaust. Even in the 1982 mid-term elections, at the end of a year of unprecedented discussion of nuclear war, the issue was a negligible component of electoral politics. We can no longer afford to be so casual in our choice and evaluation of candidates for national office—and especially candidates for the presidency. Like it or not, every four years we in effect elect a king to reign over national security affairs.

The president chooses those who run the national security bureaucracy. It is the president who decides if there is to be any fundamental change in national security policy. And it is the president who will be the commander-in-chief should we ever enter a crisis that could lead to nuclear war. If someday there were a U.S.-Soviet confrontation, the fate of the earth will not be in the hands of democracy or some collective leadership, but rather it will rest with two lone human beings—the president of the United States and the general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

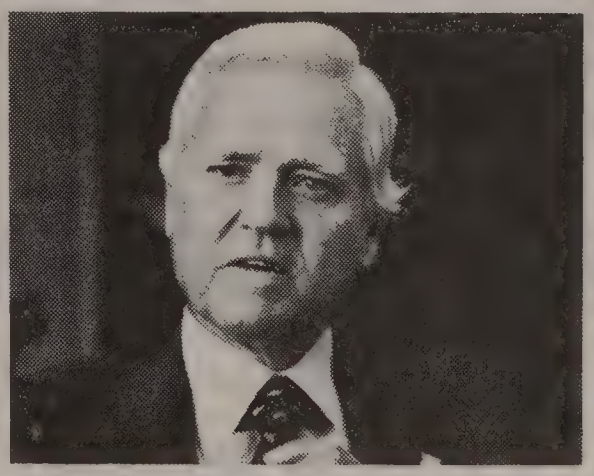
Will we take more care in 1984 in

ably about the need for increased emphasis on personnel and training, and less emphasis on new, exotic weapons systems. He has advocated scrapping the MX, B-1, and F-18 fighter, and plans for more nuclear aircraft carriers; and he has been a leader in the fight to prohibit production of nerve gas. Hart, one of the most forceful senators on the nuclear proliferation issue, has proposed a "freeze" on plutonium production. But he has voted to limit Pentagon funds only three out of nine times in the past four years.

Hart co-sponsored Kennedy-Hatfield this year but declined to do so last year. Rather than actively support the freeze, Hart has pushed his own proposal, called STOP (Strategic Talks on Prevention), which suggests various U.S.-Soviet initiatives such as updating the hotline and establishing a Joint Crisis control facility to reduce the possibility and consequences of an unintended nuclear exchange. Though Hart remains a strong and effective supporter of SALT II, his commitment to his non-controversial STOP proposal, seemingly at the expense of the freeze, has disappointed some arms control advocates.

**ERNEST F. HOLLINGS**
*Senator from South Carolina*

In the past year, Hollings has emerged as a leader in the fight against the MX and the B-1, both in the Senate Appropri-



ations Committee and on the Senate floor. In February he proposed a freeze on military spending—as well as all domestic spending—that would mean a far greater cut than other senators had proposed. His work in this area has surprised many.

Two years ago, Hollings was considered by many to be even more hawkish than his colleague from South Carolina, Strom Thurmond. Hollings had a mixed record on the MX, had consistently voted for the B-1, and in 1979 and 1980 led the fight for a higher military budget. He has repeatedly voted to begin production of chemical aircraft carriers. Hollings was a virulent opponent of SALT II when the treaty was being considered and remains opposed to it today. He favors "beefing up our conventional forces." When Kennedy-Hatfield and Jackson-Warner were introduced he backed the latter. Several months later, he also signed on to Kennedy-Hatfield and was one of the co-sponsors of the freeze resolution this January. While not a consistent voice for arms control, Hollings adds credibility and persuasiveness to any fight he joins.

His early campaign efforts have not gone well and have left some wondering whether he is merely positioning himself for the nod as vice-president.

**WALTER MONDALE**
*former Vice President*

In his capacity as Vice President, Mondale was deeply involved with, and committed to, the SALT II Treaty. He endorsed the freeze proposal the day that Kennedy (then viewed as a presidential candidate) and Hatfield introduced their resolution and later called upon the mid-term Democratic convention to endorse it as well. As Senator from Minnesota and as Vice President, Mondale supported a comprehensive test ban, continuing the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, and strengthening non-proliferation efforts. In recent speeches he has called for modest cuts in the defense budget.

Mondale has made support for a negotiated arms agreement a major theme of his campaign thus far. He has criticized deployment of the MX in the dense-pack basing mode, development of the B-1 bomber and inflated military budgets. His positions on Trident II, cruise, and Pershing II missile deployment are not yet clear. He is cautious in staking out arms control positions that might seem too far from the "Democratic center."

Mondale currently enjoys a wide lead over the other Democratic hopefuls. The question is whether he can shake off the negative association with Jimmy Carter and his own image as a well-meaning but outmoded liberal.

**—Katherine Magraw and John Isaacs**

*Katherine Magraw and John Isaacs are, respectively, assistant legislative director and legislative director for the Council for a Livable World.*

choosing our president—and other national officials? Will democracy, at last, go to work to prevent nuclear war? Will candidates for the presidency (and for the Senate and House of Representatives) be challenged by the electorate as to how well they understand the problems inherent in preventing nuclear war—and how they plan to go about solving those problems?

It is not adequate for candidates to simply express concern—to say that they too are worried about the U.S.-Soviet nuclear arms race, about nuclear proliferation, about defusing international hot spots like the Middle East, about the incendiary effect of spiraling conventional arms sales, about the pathetic character of our mechanics for resolving international conflicts, and about the severe strain in the U.S.-Soviet relationship. The Oval Office is no place for on-the-job training. Candidates for national office, and especially the presidency, must declare what they plan to do about such problems—and how much attention they will pay to them. Why shouldn't the president spend as much time on the nuclear war problem in 1983 as FDR did on World War II in 1943?

It is especially important to recognize that the challenge put to this democracy by the specter of nuclear war is not so much directed to the candidates as to the citizenry—and to those in the antinuclear movement who are preparing to involve themselves in the coming elections. And we must accept that this is a task that goes well beyond eliciting a candidate's stand on the freeze.

Can democracy meet this challenge and—through an unprecedented national dialogue in 1984—produce that much-coveted partnership between citizens, experts, and elected officials? The price of failure is profound—yet another crop of elected officials whose understanding of and commitment to working on the nuclear war problem is inadequate. We need both that understanding and commitment as well as a new consensus on a national strategy for preventing nuclear war—as we as a nation take on the even greater challenge of *making peace* with the Soviet Union. And we are nowhere near ready to take on that awesome task.

So bring on the candidates—turn them upside down and inside out.

**—Roger Molander**

*Roger Molander is executive director of Ground Zero.*

WEST GERMAN ELECTIONS

# Will Results Spark Resistance?

*In last month's West German national elections, a coalition of the Christian Democratic Union and Free Democrats, led by Helmut Kohl, won a resounding victory over the Social Democratic Party and its candidate, Hans-Jochen Vogel. At the same time, the pacifist, antinuclear Greens won their first seats in the Parliament. Although many observers, especially outside of West Germany, initially viewed a victory by Kohl as a mandate in support of NATO plans to deploy intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe, election day polls show that the missiles were not the decisive issue for most voters.*

*In the following interview, Andreas Zumach, the coordinator of peace and international activity for Action Reconciliation—the umbrella organization of West German peace groups—discusses the election and how it may affect the antinuclear weapons movement.*

*The interview was conducted by Walter Lew, assistant editor of* NUCLEAR TIMES.

**With a center-right coalition now in power, how do you predict the missiles issue will be used in upcoming political battles?**

High-ranking members of the U.S. Administration were already saying last year that, despite all their sympathy for the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), deployment under a Social Democratic Party (SPD) government led by Helmut Schmidt would have been much easier. Now with Kohl in power, there will be deeper polarization over this issue. Arrayed together on one side will be the peace movement, the SPD, plus the Greens with their 27 new seats in the Parliament. Moreover, as the SPD develops clearer opposition to the missiles many of the unions will follow their lead, especially if the economic situation worsens.

This is a much more serious polarization than would have occurred under a SPD government. If the SPD had made it, they probably would have called for a moratorium on preparations for deployment and requested maybe another year of talks in Geneva. Now they most probably will give a strong "No" to deployment. I think parallel situations may develop in Italy and the Netherlands, where large opposition parties may align themselves with the peace movement's cause.

**What does the peace movement plan to do in this context?**

It has never before made itself dependent on any party or coalition, and we are not going to in the future. It's certainly a kind of support that the Greens are now in Parliament, but the Greens are not the peace movement. I say that emphatically because this is often pictured wrongly in the media, especially by American journalists.

The peace movement, working independently of what happens in Geneva, intends to prevent the deployment and remain opposed to any compromises. Our plans include the big Easter peace marches and nonviolent civil disobedience actions, which are definitely coming into favor now—although they do not have a long history in our country as in yours. We will also have peace camps like the one in Greenham Common, England. In the fall, especially the week between the 15th and 22nd of October [UN Disarmament Week], there are going to be mass actions all over the country, plus centralized mass demonstrations in Bonn coordinated with activities in cities in at least the Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark, England and Italy. The U.S. freeze campaign has decided to do similar support activities October 8th and 9th.

We also realize, however, that not everyone is ready to participate in demonstrations and civil disobedience, so we have a growing campaign to create nuclear weapons-free cities—the type of campaign that was and still is so successful in England. If you do it right, it forces you to work at the grass roots. You choose a city and go from house to house, church to church, hospital to hospital, and organize them and sometime, when you have built up momentum, you go to the city council and push it through there. This enables us to get into sectors of the population that we haven't reached yet. We have to reach deeper into the constituencies of not only the SPD, but the CDU as well.

**In some of the British and U.S. media treatment of the Greens there occurred what seems to be the German equivalent of red-baiting: Nazi-baiting. An article in *The New Republic* questioned their "nationalism," while *The Economist* said that the Greens, like "neo-Nazis," do not rule out the use of violence.**

I'm not a member of the Greens and certainly don't have to defend them—I also see structural problems with political parties being part of the peace movement—but these are really charges that have to be answered.

As for nationalism, if groups even slightly raise the so-called "German Issue" then all the alarms go off, but the movement has never used this issue. What we said, and this has been especially said by some elderly people, is that there is certainly one common interest in the two Germanies today: to not be the battlefield of a nuclear war. But this has nothing to do with wanting reunification; it doesn't even mean we want to step out of the two-bloc system or become a neutral state.

And violence? This again is not true. The Greens have explicitly excluded violence and have said very clearly that they want to only use talk and nonviolent means. What they have talked about—and this is apparently what bothers some of the press—is that they are not going to limit themselves to only parliamentary activities. Petra Kelly [a Green leader], the night the election results came in, said "O.K., we are not only going to use those 27 seats, but continue to participate in protests in the streets, blockades and other nonviolent actions." But this is obviously different from espousing violence.

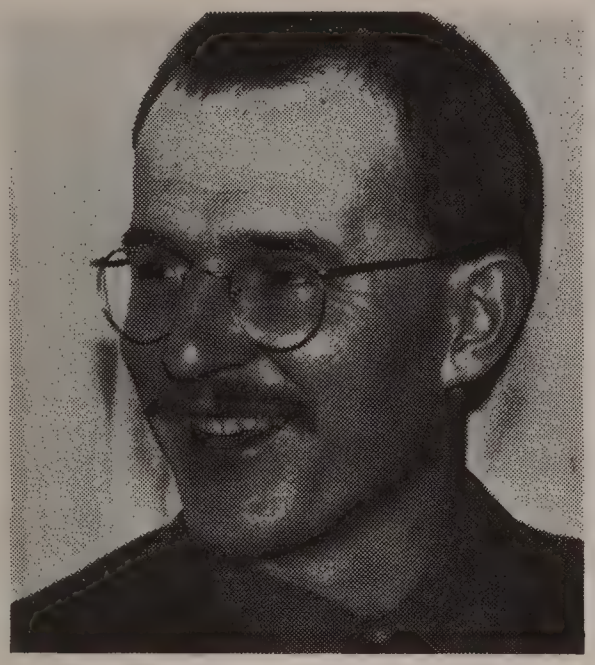
**For a while, it did seem as if the missiles would be the main issue of the elections. How were they supplanted by economic questions?**

Massive unemployment and the illusion that the CDU and Liberals [Free Democrats] could bring about a solution. I say it's an illusion: their way of solving things will result in even greater mass unemployment. What happened was similar to the parliamentary elections last September in the Netherlands. There, despite broad support for the peace movement for years—not only against new missiles but also for the abolition of already existing ones—the economy and unemployment became the decisive issues and the missiles were third or even fourth in importance. Self-critically, I will say that we didn't manage to link up the two issues of social cuts and military spending in the minds of the broad mass of people. We have to work on that.

There were also clear instances [in Germany] of a sort of blackmail. Many companies said to their employees, and

publicly, that they were not going to invest if the SPD and the Greens came into power; others openly threatened layoffs. Finally there was the obvious international influence.

I would say the peace movement is not yet prepared for the argument of the new defense minister, Manfred Werner, which is: How can you possibly, in the



**Zumach: "More serious polarization"**

present bad economic situation, be against nuclear weapons when you know they are much less expensive than conventional arms? This could be a trap and the movement has to think about how it will answer it, especially for our union constituency. Generally, we have to do more educational outreach and studies on conversion of military plants.

**The Soviet Union, like the United States and France, attempted to exert considerable influence on the elections. How do German peace groups want to relate to Soviet policy in the future?**

We see very clearly the SS-20s are a growing threat. But we don't buy the official NATO propaganda that cruise and Pershing missiles are merely being deployed in response to them. Even if one did for a moment say this is true, then one could still ask, So what? What has NATO gained with the double-track decision since December 1979? Nothing. Back then, there were about 25 to 30 SS-20s being produced or deployed; now they have more than 10 times that number. In February 1980, the Russians offered a moratorium which would have immediately stopped production and deployment if the NATO decision was withdrawn; that proposal has never been discussed by the West. We still say that both sides are part of the problem, which is the arms race. But we think that not deploying cruises and Pershings could be the first step out of the crazy logic of this race. Deploying them, on the other hand, will bring about a whole new buildup from the other side.

**If the missiles are not needed to defend Western Europeans from Soviet missiles, what is their function?**

There is no longer any military rationale behind the idea of land-basing. Today you could have the same effect with sea-based missiles—just put in a few more well-equipped Trident submarines in the North Sea, for example. There is only a political rationale behind insisting on the land-based missiles: disciplining and unifying the allies. But I think that in the fall even our Christian Democratic governments—West Germany, Italy, the Netherlands—will see that the missiles have the opposite effect. Forcing through the deployment will have the effect of eroding popular support throughout the alliance. I think this is the crucial point at which NATO will depart from the idea of basing missiles on land.

The second reason behind these missiles is that they enable the West to threaten the Soviet Union and keep them from interfering in other non-European areas. The East-West conflict in Central Europe is not the real conflict; it is an artificial one that has drawn too much public attention. The real future conflicts are in the Korean area, the southern African region, and the Persian Gulf. These scenarios are being openly played now by NATO. For instance, the idea that the Soviet Union might march into Iran: NATO's response would be to pull Pershing IIs out of shelters and put them into launch position near Stuttgart. Another indication is the deployment of cruise missiles in Sicily: this has nothing to do with defending against the Soviet Union. They will probably be aimed at the Middle East and Northern Africa, especially Libya.

**How are relations between the Western European and U.S. peace movements?**

It's really progress, when I look back over the last 18 months, how not only communication but coordinated activities between the peace movements have developed. The decision at the freeze convention to support the European disarmament movement comes at a good time because we were being played off against each other by politicians earlier. Schmidt used to say, for example, that the European movement is wrong because it is not as bilateralist as the freeze campaign.

**What amount of hope do you have that deployment of the missiles can be stopped?**

I say that there is going to be no deployment. This comes out of the analysis I gave earlier about what the rationale behind them is and how it is going to have the opposite effect on the people. One might say that on purely military grounds—the superiority of other ways of basing—it will be cancelled, but this response will actually be due to the resistance it faces in each country. □

**PACIFIC PROTEST WEEK**

# A Nuclear-Free "Way of Life"

On March 1, 1954, the United States conducted its largest hydrogen bomb explosion at Bikini Atoll in the Marshall Islands. Hundreds of Marshallese, 28 American meteorologists and 23 Japanese fishermen were exposed to high amounts of radioactive fallout.

Beginning with Bikini Day, as March 1 is known, antinuclear, independence, women's, youth and government groups throughout the Pacific commemorated this year's Nuclear Free Pacific Week with educational forums and exhibits, street theater and demonstrations.

In Tahiti, the week had special significance because France continues to test nuclear weapons there—including the neutron bomb—while suppressing any data on the medical effects of the testing. There have also been reports of numerous accidents at the test site causing severe environmental pollution. On Bikini Day—despite Tahiti's heavy reliance on the French military economy—about 500 demonstrators marched through the capital and presented two resolutions against nuclear testing to officials at the French high commissioner's office.

Meanwhile in Paris, a two-year Pacificwide petition campaign against French testing and Japanese proposals to dump nuclear waste in the ocean culminated in the presentation by two Pacific representatives of over 90,000 signatures to high-level officials in the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The campaign is beginning to target U.S. plans as well.

In Australia and New Zealand, several demonstrations and rallies were held during Nuclear Free Pacific Week. In the Solomon Islands, a well-attended educational program focused on nuclear submarines, military buildups in the Pacific, independence movements and the history of testing in the Marshall Islands.

Pacific islanders have borne much of the brunt of the nuclear age; over 200 weapons tests have been conducted in the region and people exposed to the fallout have been plagued with high rates of thyroid cancer, miscarriage, still birth, leukemia and other health problems. Vanuatu's roving ambassador, Barak Sope, recently commented, "The struggle for a nuclear and oppression-free Pacific is for many of us not just another cause that we might or might not care to support: it is a way of life."

**—Giff Johnson**

*Giff Johnson is a freelance writer based in Hawaii.*

PHOTO BY BEVERLY A. ORR

JOBS WITH PEACE WEEK

# Deployment Or Employment?

In Los Angeles and Lansing, Michigan, unemployed workers will testify against President Reagan's policy of cutting social services while spending billions of dollars on cruise missiles and the Rapid Deployment Force. In Boston, Oakland, and Albuquerque, members of Congress and state legislators will sponsor hearings on urban "peace budgets"—what cities could buy if the military didn't drain away half their taxes. In New York City, as part of an Income Tax Day Protest, leafletters will pass out material outside 40 Post Offices and Internal Revenue Service offices.

From April 10 to 16, groups in over 200 communities will host a wide variety of similar events during Jobs With Peace Week. Organizers predict it will be the largest display of public opposition to escalating defense expenditures since Ronald Reagan took office.

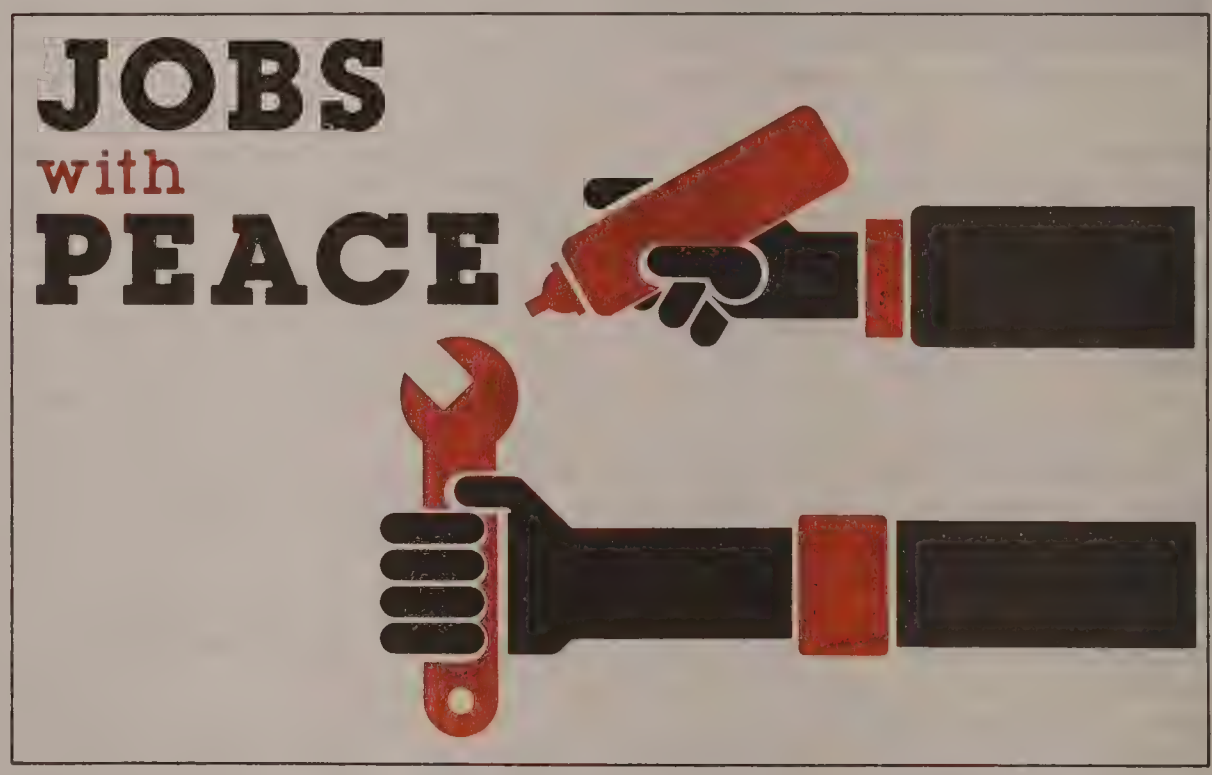
"We want to bring the military budget down to the local level," says Jobs With Peace staff member Jill Nelson at the national office in San Francisco. Organizers say that the growing list of activities this month—hearings, demonstrations, distribution of "paid-under-protest" postcards to be attached to income tax returns, and more—will demonstrate that many Americans perceive an intimate connection between economic decline and a military buildup.

Nelson hopes the week's events will persuade more U.S. representatives to endorse H.R. 46, a non-binding resolution that calls for "significantly reducing the amount of our tax dollars spent on nuclear weapons, foreign military intervention, and wasteful military programs" in order to free more money for schools, housing, and other "socially productive industries." As of March 1, only 73 representatives had co-sponsored the bill, introduced by Representative Don Edwards. Without the appearance of an upsurge of public support, similar to the freeze, Nelson admits, the resolution will have difficulty emerging from any of the three committees now considering it.

Jobs With Peace (JWP) affiliates are active in nearly every large city in the country and the national campaign is sponsored by such groups as the American Friends Service Committee, Clergy and Laity Concerned and Mobilization for Survival. But organizers hope that Jobs With Peace Week will provide the springboard for establishing a wider campaign with more political clout. Although 54 cities have passed largely symbolic Jobs With Peace resolutions since 1978, the campaign has so far lacked the urgency and the clarity that served to attract millions of people to the freeze. As a partial remedy, local JWP campaigns will sponsor "binding resolutions," similar to those passed (with 60 percent of the vote) in Baltimore and Pittsburgh last November. They require local governments to report annually to the public on the amount of their taxes absorbed by the military.

In Charlotte, North Carolina, black working-class women form the core of Jobs With Peace. To dramatize the campaign, they are planning to march late this spring through the Carolina countryside. Carrie Graves, Charlotte JWP coordinator, describes the campaign's attraction for black women in the South: "They see that there are no jobs for their children, except for the military . . . The real peace issue is more than just nuclear weapons because we have a whole economic holocaust that's going to explode within our cities."

Hundreds of local unions have also endorsed the campaign and will take part in




The Jobs With Peace campaign, however, has already achieved something that few local freeze groups can claim—the active involvement of minority groups in their organization. A quarter of the delegates to the annual JWP convention, held in Atlanta in late January, were either black or Latino. "If we're able to draw in more minorities, it's because we focus on bread-and-butter issues," says Heather Gray, a coordinator of the Atlanta JWP campaign. "We're going to the folks who are on the breadlines and talking to them about the issues." In San Antonio, Mexican-American organizers work under the name *Trabajo y Paz*. With the backing of the city's Roman Catholic Archbishop, they are investigating ways to secure prosperity without relying on the defense plants that employ thousands of Texans.

activities during Jobs With Peace Week. In Los Angeles County, 71 locals that originally joined together last fall to pass the freeze initiative have now turned their energies to formulating "peace budgets." Left-leaning unions like American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, Service Employees International Union, and the United Electrical Workers are the backbone of such coalitions around the country. However, broad-based central labor councils have endorsed the campaign in San Francisco, Baltimore, San Jose, and several smaller cities.

In Massachusetts, where military contractors General Electric and Raytheon employ a sizeable percentage of the unionized labor force, state AFL-CIO head Arthur Osborne supports the aims of Jobs With Peace. According to

ILLUSTRATION BY COMMUNICATORS FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

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**—Dr. Helen Caldicott**

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Laurence Locke, a Boston activist and JWP's national treasurer, "even defense-oriented counties" in New England "are learning that the military is a very weak reed to depend upon." Massachusetts JWP organizers hope to sponsor a ballot initiative in 1984 that would establish a state office dedicated to conversion planning.

On the national JWP agenda is formation of a Political Action Committee that would raise funds and channel them to sympathetic candidates running for federal office. In addition, Jobs With Peace will augment its already well-developed educational efforts. With the help of the National Education Association, JWP has prepared an imaginative curriculum for junior and senior high schools. The two-week-long high school course includes readings and worksheets about nuclear weapons, foreign intervention and military spending, separately designed for English, science and social studies classes. In Boston, after teachers advocated it, both the popularly-elected School Committee and the Catholic Archdiocese mandated the curriculum for use in the city's schools.

Despite these ambitious projects, Jobs With Peace organizers stress that they are not contending for leadership in the peace movement. The freeze campaign appears not to feel threatened by the growing appeal of JWP; last December the campaign's national committee voted to support the Jobs With Peace initiatives. (The freeze committee also passed a resolution calling for support for economic conversion programs and job and income protection for workers displaced by weapons' plant shut-downs.)

"Jobs With Peace is a political education campaign with the goal of a healthy economy in a peaceful world," Jonathan King, a Massachusetts Institute for Technology biology professor long active in JWP, told the recent Atlanta convention. JWP activists want to convince other peace groups and multi-issue citizen organizations to express that goal in their own language. There is no JWP "line" to which participants must adhere.

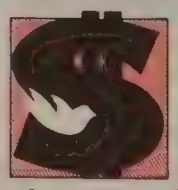
Above all, Jobs With Peace seeks to unite Americans who oppose planning for nuclear war and new Vietnams with those who are more concerned with feeding themselves and their families. As Jonathan King puts it, "The Jobs With Peace campaign has one leg in the peace movement and one leg in the movement for jobs and economic justice. It will only be able to move with both legs working."

**—Michael Kazin**

*Michael Kazin is a San Francisco-based writer who has written for* The Nation *and* Mother Jones.

**LABOR & THE BOMB**

# Movement Looks For The Union Label



While on vacation in England two years ago, Larry Frank found himself in a pub drinking with workers from the nearby Lucas Aerospace plant. Frank, a Los Angeles-based labor organizer who has run campaigns for several major unions, was startled to learn that the workers at the plant had drawn up a plan to retool their company, which had been involved primarily in military production, so that it could manufacture more socially useful products.

When Frank returned home he began working to organize labor against what author Seymour Melman calls "the permanent war economy." He is chairman of Southern California Unions for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze—one of a small but growing number of labor organizations around the country actively involved in the nuclear disarmament campaign.

Since last summer, labor participation in the nuclear freeze movement—though mostly low-key—has rapidly increased. At least 16 major unions and labor organizations have officially endorsed the call for a bilateral freeze. Several unions have freeze education campaigns. Central labor councils—county-wide union coalitions—in a number of states have backed the freeze and military budget-cutting initiatives. The grass-roots Jobs With Peace campaign, aimed at redirecting government spending, has attracted broad labor support.

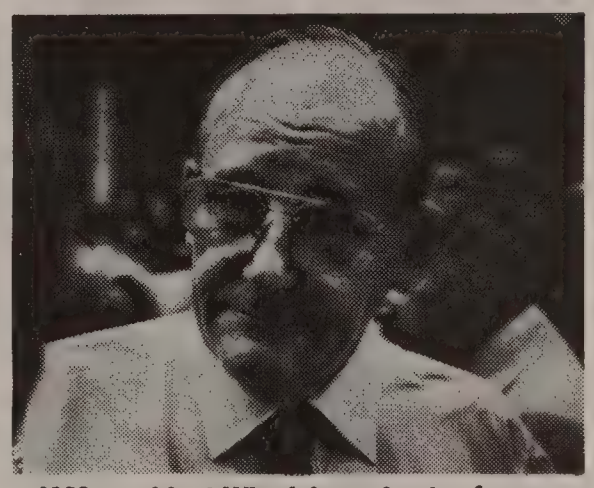
All this activity marks a significant change for much of the labor movement, which since World War II has largely been guided by the rule of thumb that military spending creates jobs. The shift has not come easily. Many union members still adhere to the traditional guns-equals-jobs view. Under Lane Kirkland's leadership, the AFL-CIO opposes a nuclear freeze and urges an increase in defense spending. The stricken American economy has forced even progressive unions to look first at short-term bread-and-butter issues.

Labor has not had an entirely comfortable relationship with the largely white, middle-class nuclear freeze movement. It is a problem both sides acknowledge; they are actively seeking to bridge the gap. Freeze organizers say there is growing recognition of the central role labor must play in bringing about any political solution to the arms race. And unions, though often reluctant to enter coalitions, have begun throwing their support behind freeze-related projects.

**JOBS & THE FREEZE**

Unions have a variety of motivations for their alliance with the freeze movement. For some traditionally liberal organizations, such as the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU), participation in the campaign was almost a reflex.

For many unions, particularly those with members in defense contracting work, joining the freeze movement was a deliberate outgrowth of a longstanding and immediate concern: jobs. The International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM), for example, under the leadership of its president, William Winpisinger, has been openly



**IAM president Winpisinger backs freeze**

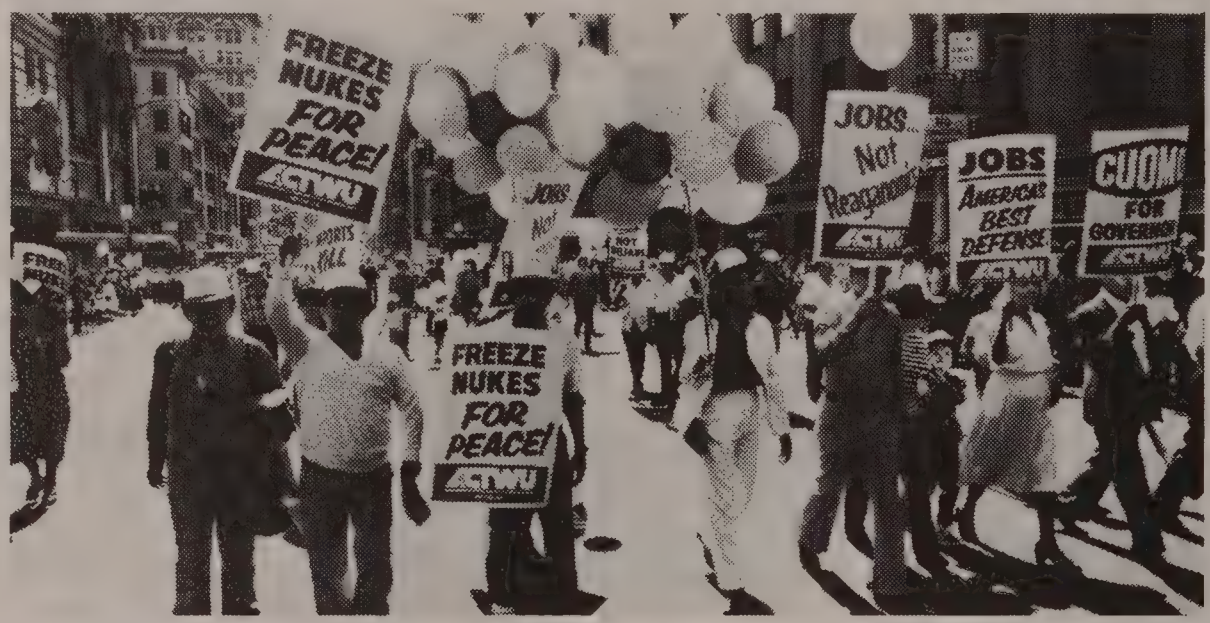
critical of military spending for years, even though some 85,000 IAM members work for military contractors. Plagued by shifts toward high-technology weaponry and increased subcontracting abroad, the Machinists have found that greater military spending has not brought greater prosperity.

In fact, it has brought the opposite. "For every new military contract," says Lou Kiefer, an IAM organizer in the Hartford, Connecticut, area, "we see fewer jobs." Forty per cent of the Machinists in Kiefer's District 91 have military-related jobs, mostly at seven plants owned by United Technologies. In 1967, 36,000 District 91 members were building airframes and engines for United Technologies. Today—even though the corporation tripled its defense contracting revenues over the 1970s—that number has dropped to 20,000. In 1978 the IAM commissioned a national study which confirmed what organizers such as Kiefer had long suspected: Machinist employment was falling in almost direct proportion to the rising military budget. During the 1970s the number of skilled journeyman machinists decreased by 76,000 nationwide.

But if the issue of jobs helped bring the

PHOTO BY STEVEN BORNS
ILLUSTRATION BY LIANE FRIED

IAM and other unions close to the freeze movement, the same specter of unemployment has pushed another important progressive union—the United Auto Workers—into keeping its distance. Historically a critic of defense spending, the UAW in the past year has been markedly mute. Although still on record as opposing higher defense spending, UAW President Douglas Fraser sided with Lane Kirkland against a nuclear freeze, reportedly because he does not want to jeopardize Kirkland's support for proposed auto-content legislation. He beat back a freeze resolution in his own union, and will not discuss the issue even with close allies.




Opposition to the freeze from Kirkland and the AFL-CIO executive council is more than symbolic. According to published reports, Kirkland at least once threatened to revoke the charter of a district labor council if it endorsed the freeze. His office reportedly even lobbied to have the word "Peace" removed from the "Jobs, Peace, and Freedom" rally planned for August 27 to mark the 20th anniversary of Martin Luther King's historic March on Washington, D.C.

The persistence of unions in publicly defying Kirkland marks a significant historical departure for the normally monolithic AFL-CIO. Several of the unions most outspoken in favor of the freeze, such as the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) and the United Food and Commercial Workers Union, are among the largest in the federation. Even more dissent on military spending is reportedly building at the local level. The American Federation of Teachers and the Communications Workers of America, for example, endorsed the freeze despite opposition from their own presidents.

### AN UNEASY ALLIANCE

Despite this new wave of antinuclear sentiment among unions, however, there is still a gulf between labor and other elements of the nuclear freeze movement. Organizers from community peace groups and union locals say they have had an uneasy alliance, sometimes because peace activists have been unresponsive to the special interests and problems of labor, and often because freeze campaigners are unaware of the basic structure and workings of unions.

Even progressive unions, such as the IAM, contain opposition within their ranks, explains Steve Daggett of the Coalition for a New Military and Foreign Policy, which works closely with the IAM and other unions. "In the past there has not been a lot of sensitivity to this," adds Daggett. There has also been some insensitivity to job issues, acknowledges Gene Carroll, labor coordinator for the national freeze campaign and a former ACTWU organizer. "People have not always talked about, for instance, income security for defense workers displaced by a nuclear weapons freeze," admits Carroll.

Some union organizers are also put off by what they see as the arrogance of middle-class disarmament campaigns. "Lots of people are trafficking in our problems," says Dick Greenwood, a special assistant to IAM president Winpisinger, "but what we need are solutions." Greenwood, who acts as his union's liaison with the national freeze campaign, says he is particularly frustrated by the sometimes slow, coalition-style decision-making process adopted by the movement—very different from that of labor.

"You go to these meetings," he says, "and everyone's got their own thing—all those autonomous organizations—you talk, talk, talk. It's almost a group grope." His union's members, he says, are facing an immediate economic crisis and "we don't have time for those things—we need results." He adds, "I'm not knocking any of those organizations, but it's not always enough."

Greenwood is also skeptical of extremely decentralized efforts such as Jobs With Peace. "They think you can sit at the local level and be the tail that wags the dog," he says. "But you've got to have a centralized system for channelling resources and coordinating activity. You're up against corporations which are all over the map. General Dynamics is not just in Groton, Connecticut [where Trident submarines are built]." The IAM's own anti-military spending program combines national studies with worker education and a grass-roots network of shop committees to deal with issues such as economic conversion—retooling military-based industries and factories for other purposes. The union has also backed conversion legislation on the state level.

The national freeze campaign, for its part, is making a concerted effort to bridge the gap. Partly this is a matter of political necessity; many key members of Congress are from regions heavily dominated by labor. But in large part, says Gene Carroll, it stems from the realization that "labor support for stopping the arms race exists and is growing, but this support is coupled with everyone's awareness of the economic survival question."

### BRIDGE-BUILDING

In February 1982, the national conference of the freeze campaign created an economic issues task force, including representatives from a number of unions. The task force is trying to generate enough labor support to drive the Kennedy-Hatfield freeze bill through Congress. Over time, the group plans a wide-ranging education campaign on the economic effects of the arms race and alternatives.

Last month the task force released its first publication: *The Freeze Economy*, a comprehensive handbook on economic and labor issues. (*See page 19.*) Prepared by the Mid-Peninsula Conversion Project in Mountain View, California, it contains both background information and organizing strategies—including advice on working with unions. Significantly, the book comes with letters of endorsement from the presidents of five major unions.

Given all this bridge-building, it seems likely labor's role in the disarmament movement will continue to grow. "Our people understand what we're talking about," the IAM's Dick Greenwood says, "it's not like the good old days of World War II." Says California's Larry Frank, "There has been much more support from labor than we could have hoped for. The atmosphere is different now from even



PHOTO COURTESY OF LABOR UNITY, AMALGAMATED CLOTHING AND TEXTILE WORKERS UNION

three years ago. Labor is in the trenches, under attack. There are new people in union leadership, and they're looking around to see who else is in the trenches with them, who their allies are."

Still, optimism about a flood of labor support for the antinuclear weapons movement should be tempered with caution. "It is true," says Gene Carroll, "that we have a long way to go in building a broad and deep working-class component among freeze supporters." The current AFL-CIO leadership, for instance, is unlikely to change its position in the near-future.

Labor support will probably remain parallel to the antinuclear weapons movement rather than be absorbed into it, observers agree. "The freeze movement has its own agenda, and we in labor have ours," says Larry Frank. For unions and the labor movement, the struggle to end the arms race remains indelibly colored not just by prospects of long-term survival, but by the pressure of tomorrow's job.

**—Bruce Shapiro**

*Bruce Shapiro is an associate writer for the* New Haven Advocate.

**THE MILITARY ECONOMY**

# America Held Hostage

It is budget season in Washington. For the third time since it came into office, the Reagan Administration is requesting an unprecedented increase in the military budget: $239 billion in defense outlays, or an increase of over 10 percent in real dollars after inflation. The fastest growing part of the defense budget is weapons buying, which has risen from 24 percent of outlays in 1982 to 29 percent in 1984, with a projected increase to 33 percent by 1986. Moreover, as a portion of the weapons spending spree, strategic nuclear systems rank supreme, growing by 36 percent in 1984.

The dramatic growth of nuclear buying has not gone unchallenged. Congressional resistance to the defense budget request has been rhetorically strong but, as yet, modest in real impact.

One central thread tying many members of Congress to the military buildup is economic. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger warned, in generally unchallenged testimony this winter, that every reduction of $1 billion in the defense budget could mean the loss of 35,000 jobs. In a recession year, this threat has direct meaning to most congressional districts. The cancellation of the B-1 bomber, for example, could mean unemployment for over 10,000 employees of Rockwell International in California. The International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers in that state, heavily dependent on aerospace employment and weakened by layoffs from commercial aircraft programs, must surely be tempted by this short-term promise of jobs.

Weapons are frequently marketed as jobs programs. Since workers and local communities see no apparent alternative to such employment, they become hostage to this sales pitch. Local businesses, community leaders and, above all, elected officials whose reelection depends on the flow of money into the community, also become hostages.

Contractors lobby Congress and the Defense Department hard for the funds that keep their production lines operating. Rockwell, for example, maintained a steady drumbeat of pressure on key members of Congress and on the Air Force to keep the B-1 alive after President Carter cancelled it in 1977. They also contribute to the campaign coffers of politicians who support their programs, targeting members of authorizing and appropriating committees. Thus is born the "iron triangle" relationship of Congress, the Pentagon and the contractors—which helps keep defense spending alive.

Opening up this relationship, freeing the hostages, is not an easy task. One key step, however, is to question the economic sales pitch. Is Weinberger correct? Does defense spending create jobs? Is it good for the economy?

### DECLINE & FALL

It is more accurate to say that defense spending *maintains* employment in the defense sector, but at a declining rate. The defense dollar, in fact, is gradually losing its power to sustain employment in the defense industry. Twenty years ago, a billion dollars of defense spending employed many more than 35,000 workers. But manufacturing firms have felt the pinch since then. In 1970, McDonnell

# Freeze Economy

How would a nuclear arms freeze affect the economy? A new study, prepared by Dave McFadden and Jim Wake for the freeze campaign's economic issues task force, reports that a nuclear freeze, if adopted by the end of fiscal year 1983 (October 1, 1982, to September 30, 1983) would result in savings of more than $84 billion over the next four years. Systems affected by the freeze would include the MX missile ($23.9 billion), the B-1B bomber ($27.2 billion) and nuclear warheads ($11.5 billion).

But the report, *The Freeze Economy* (available for $2.50 from the Mid-Peninsula Conversion Project, 222C View Street, Mountain View, CA 94041), notes that the most substantial savings from a freeze will accrue over time. For instance, halting the development of the MX missile will save an additional $60 billion to $70 billion through the year 2000. "The total of $230 billion in potential long term savings," the study reports, "is only the beginning of what actual savings through the end of this century could be once a brake is put on the nuclear arms race." The report suggests that this $230 billion in savings, if redirected properly, could make possible an increase in total employment nationwide. It also notes that savings from the freeze can be used to meet social needs. For instance, the $6 billion savings a freeze in fiscal year 1983 would provide could be applied to recently passed reductions in social programs, such as Medicaid, child nutrition, Legal Services, student loans, mass transportation and food stamps.

The report clearly notes that these savings in themselves will not turn around the nation's basic difficulties—a deteriorating infrastructure, unemployment, defunded social programs. The freeze would also have a "negative impact," the study shows, in the form of "economic displacement for thousands of workers involved in the production of nuclear weapons and nuclear weapons delivery systems, and in the repercussions on communities that have grown dependent on military contracts." Estimates on the number of jobs in the nuclear weapons-related industry range as high as 600,000, and McFadden and Wake estimate that "at least 100,000 jobs could be affected by a freeze if implemented during FY 1983, and over 315,000 if implemented in FY 1986."

But, they add, "at its most comprehensive the freeze would directly affect less than .5 of one percent of the total U.S. workforce." And their report notes that government and private studies have shown that military spending creates fewer jobs than other forms of economic stimulation. The report suggests that economic conversion and government initiatives aimed at retraining and reemploying displaced workers could offset some of the jobs lost due to the freeze.

**—David Corn**

Douglas employed 20,000 more workers than it does today, though it was doing only one-fourth the defense contracting it does now.

What has changed is the technological character of the defense sector. More and more of the defense dollar goes into technology, machinery and materials and less, relatively, into the wage bill. This has meant declining potency of the defense dollar. It sustains work forces in hostage communities, but creates fewer and fewer new jobs.

In the future, this potency will continue to decline. The Defense Department is spending roughly half a billion dollars to retool defense plants with computer-aided design and manufacturing and robotic workers, reducing even further the employment potential of the defense dollar.

For hostage communities, this is a dramatic change. The defense dollar is a poor opportunity for future economic growth and employment. Retraining workers, alternate investment strategies and conversion of unused defense facilities all become an urgent necessity for a healthy economic future. Without such programs, hostage communities will decline and the work force will be left to its own migratory patterns, such as the recent one to Houston, Texas.

If defense dollars are a poor economic choice for communities that depend on them, they are even less useful for those sectors of American society that are highly unemployed today. The highest rates of joblessness are found among minorities, women, younger workers, less skilled workers and inner city dwellers. This work force is located far from most defense contractors and is largely unaffected by their spending.

Here we find America's unemployment problem, one more directly redressed by job creation programs, new investment in the commercial sector and almost any other form of federal spending. (According to Bureau of Labor Statistics, for example, $1 billion creates 43,000 to 123,000 jobs in service industries.) The future growth of the economy and its ability to compete internationally depend as much on the training and employment of this work force as they do on investment strategies aimed at high technology. Yet defense budget growth has ravaged virtually every federal program aimed at this goal.

### HIGH TECH LITTLE HELP

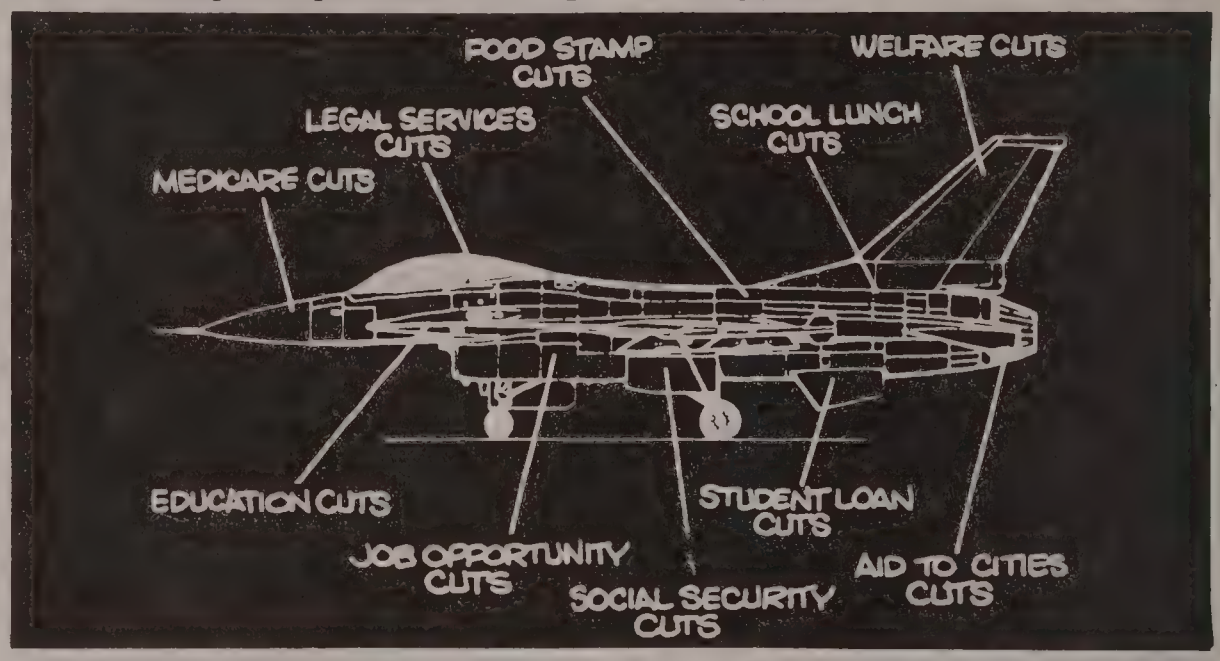
The defense budget has, at the same time, been criticized for its "false promise" with respect to technology. While the Defense Department argues that its high technology purchases will stimulate technological development in the American economy, this "spin-off" effect is less and less real.

The Defense Department has always claimed that defense technology is a cornucopia for the American economy as a whole. Computer and aircraft engine research funded by the Air Force, for example, led to spin-offs for commercial computers and jet transport. The spin-off contribution of defense technology, however, is declining. Although two-thirds of the federal expenditures on research and development go for military technology—compared with 10-15 percent in West Germany and 5 percent in Japan—the taxpayer will be forgiven for thinking that the most apparent spin-offs are in such areas as plastic products and Tang.

### FREE THE HOSTAGES

The economic nexus must be broken before the military budget can be examined in its own terms. Do the MX, Trident II and Pershing II contribute to security or insecurity? Is wasteful spending on a B-1 or an M-1 tank tolerable? As the more negative consequences of defense spending for the economy become more clear, the interlock of contractors, the Pentagon and the Congress is starting to open up. As members of Congress are divorced from their hostage status, they may take a more critical look.

Senator David Pryor of Arkansas, for example, was the first to respond to Senator John Tower's challenge that senators suggest defense budget cuts that would affect their districts. Pryor responded by stating that $150 million in spending for a binary chemical weapons facility in Pine Bluffs, Arkansas, could be removed from the defense budget with his hearty approval. But Tower claims that in all only six of his colleagues responded to his call.




Military technology is becoming increasingly sophisticated and highly expensive. Microcircuits for missiles, for example, process enormous amounts of information at extremely high speeds. Yet, if these circuits were installed in commercial video games, their price would be beyond the reach of most consumers. Military technology is moving away from spin-offs and many military contractors carefully isolate their military from their commercial work to insure that high-cost, high-performance military products do not contaminate lower-cost commercial efforts.

In the end, spin-off is a poor justification for defense technology. The real question is one of priorities. When American productivity has fallen far behind Japan and Germany does it make sense to invest two-thirds of our public research and development resources in technologies which do not help us compete and which do not directly address major social needs in energy, housing and transportation? As long as our public investment in technology is distorted, enhancing productivity and meeting such needs will be impossible.

Ultimately, the success of the nuclear weapons freeze depends on defining alternatives that free the defense spending hostages and employ Americans in real growth areas of the economy. It also depends on bringing common sense to national security policy, which is only possible when the hostage status of many communities and of the Congress has been lifted. B-1 workers need alternatives and the communities in which they live need diversified local economies. The American economy needs a healthier future investment strategy; the defense dollar will not do the job. National security depends on breaking the defense/economy tie, to permit each to be planned in more positive ways. **—Gordon Adams**

*Gordon Adams is director of the Defense Budget Project at the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities.*



ILLUSTRATION BY PAUL CONRAD COURTESY OF THE LOS ANGELES TIMES

# Conversion Coast-To-Coast

*An increasing number of economists, antinuclear weapons activists and labor organizers have begun to address the economic aspects of the arms race. In doing so, many of them have turned toward the concept of economic conversion to counter charges that a freeze and reduction in military production could only be achieved at the expense of tens of thousands of jobs. Economic conversion calls for the preservation of these jobs by retooling military-related industrial facilities for non-military purposes. The following groups provide a sampling of the range of conversion activities taking place across the country:*

**The Bay State Center for Economic Conversion,** 639 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02139 (617) 497-0605.
The newly formed Center is opening a resource facility with a library of conversion literature. Working with local groups to build a coalition for conversion, the Center has also published a book called *The Case for Economic Conversion in Massachusetts.* At the same address **High Technology Professionals For Peace** runs an employment agency for former defense industry employees.

**Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy,** 120 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington D.C. 20002 (202) 546-8400.
With SANE, the Coalition has put out two editions of "More Jobs," an informational brochure on conversion. The Coalition also worked on "The Economic Benefits of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze" with SANE and the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign.

**The Council on Economic Priorities Military Information Center,** 84 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011 (212) 691-8550.
The Council supplies information to movement groups on a broad range of economic topics, from military spending to conversion planning processes, and is currently conducting a study on the economic consequences of a nuclear weapons freeze.

**The Economic Conversion Task Force of the Connecticut Freeze Campaign,** RD#1, Box 494, Voluntown, CT 06324 (203) 376-4098.
The Task Force is publishing a study this month on the impact of the freeze on Connecticut's economy, and is organizing an April 9 conference on economic conversion in Hartford.

**Environmentalists for Full Employment,** 1536 16 Street N.W., Washington, DC 20036 (202) 347-5590.
This group is helping to educate local trade union members about, and organize them around the issue of economic conversion.

**The Fellowship of Reconciliation,** Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960 (914) 358-4601.
FOR, with the AFSC, is sponsoring the Nuclear Weapons Facilities Project, which provides a support system for conversion work across the country. FOR has also published a pamphlet, "Economic Conversion: Turning From War to Peace," which links the ideas of spiritual and economic conversion.

**Interfaith Center to Reverse the Arms Race,** 132 N. Euclid, Pasadena, CA 91101 (213) 731-2117.
The Center has a task force working specifically on economic conversion, concentrating on community education and outreach, and is exploring alternate uses for the idle portions of the McDonnell Douglas plant in Long Beach, California.

**Mid-Peninsula Conversion Project,** 222C View Street, Mountain View, CA 94104 (415) 968-8798.
The oldest conversion project in the country, Mid-Peninsula is extremely active in community education, outreach and organizing on economic issues. The Project is working with local unions, engineers and scientists, and community organizations to restore jobs in the civilian sector, as well as human services. Among much other literature, the Project publishes the bi-monthly tabloid, "Plowshare Press," which serves as a forum for discussion about the effects of military spending on our society.

**The Monsanto Conversion Project of the AFSC,** 915 Salem Avenue, Dayton, OH 45406 (513) 278-4225.
The Project addresses employees at the Monsanto Mound Facility (a DoD laboratory), and is developing a conversion plan for the plant.

**New Mexico Peace Conversion,** 5021 Guadalupe Street N.W., Albuquerque, NM 87107 (505) 344-1140.
This group has produced a slide show and booklet on the economic effects of military spending on New Mexico, and is involved in educational outreach.

**The Non-Governmental Liaison Service at the United Nations,** Room CH-5400, United Nations, New York, NY 10017 (212) 754-8490.
The Service provides information on U.N. conversion work. An educational packet published this month provides an in-depth look at conversion issues.

**Nuclear Free Cambridge Task Force,** c/o The Mobilization for Survival, 727 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02139 (617) 354-0008.
The Task Force is putting together a binding ordinance on the city of Cambridge to prohibit the research, testing and development of nuclear weapons. Part of the ordinance focuses on conversion—the money not spent on weapons will be used for human services. The ordinance will be on the ballot in November 1983.

**The Orange County Peace Conversion Project,** 654 North Hariton, Orange, CA 92668 (714) 857-5292.
Working primarily in outreach to defense industry workers, the Project also publishes pamphlets on conversion, and provides educational workshops for the community.

The Democrats for Peace Conversion Committee, working at the same address and phone number, is a broad-based coalition within the Democratic party. Although focusing on California, where the Democratic party went on record in favor of peace conversion in January, the Committee is also pushing to place a peace conversion plank in the 1984 Democratic party platform.

**The Rocky Flats Conversion Project of the AFSC,** 1660 Lafayette Street, Denver, CO 80218 (303) 832-4508.
The Project serves as a clearinghouse for the AFSC/FOR National Nuclear Weapons Facilities Task Force, and has published an economic conversion packet and a study of nuclear weapons facilities. The Project has led local citizen pressure that resulted in the Department of Energy's study "Long Range Utilization of Rocky Flats," and is trying to make sure that the study is reviewed by technical experts.

**SANE,** 711 G Street S.E., Washington, DC 20003 (202) 546-7100.
Involved primarily in pressing for conversion legislation on Capitol Hill, SANE is in the process of becoming co-publishers of the Mid-Peninsula Conversion Project's "Plowshare Press".

**St. Louis Economic Conversion Project,** 438 North Skinker, St. Louis, MO 63130 (314) 231-2039.
The Conversion Project is pressing the several St. Louis plants that are prime contractors for the cruise missile to consider conversion. The Project publishes newsletters and pamphlets, and regularly leaflets the local defense plants.

**The Washington State Conversion Project,** 6532 Phinney North, Seattle, WA 98103 (206) 784-8436.
The Project sponsored a conversion conference at Seattle University in March, and has issued a proposal for creating a state budget that supports peace while creating jobs.

BY FRED KAPLAN

# Would U.S. Missiles Hit Or Miss?

The trouble with thinking about the unthinkable in Washington is that too many people here do it for a living. They are so caught up in the theoretical—or, better, theological—concepts of nuclear strategy that they genuinely believe in the "window of vulnerability," "hard-target-kill-capability" and other imaginings. This goes not only for hawks but for many establishment arms-control doves as well.

Almost every month, however, new evidence emerges from politically disinterested scientists suggesting that the weapons of nuclear warfare will not work as their designers had intended—and that, therefore, the pattern and order of nuclear war itself will be far more chaotic than the strategies justifying the procurement of many new nuclear weapons assume.

The key issues here are the accuracy and reliability of missiles, especially ICBMs. The whole idea of "counterforce" and "first strike" and "protracted nuclear war" assumes, among other things, that each side can destroy the other's hardened missile silos with high confidence.

The presumed accuracy of ICBMs has been the subject of some controversy the past couple of years, mainly surrounding a phenomenon known as "bias." The United States and the Soviet Union test their ICBMs on an east-west trajectory; yet in a real nuclear war, the missiles would fly over the North Pole, an untested flightpath, and one whose magnetic and gravitational pulls vary considerably. Moreover, as the warheads reenter the multiple layers of atmosphere—each layer having radically different densities and wind velocities (which change with the weather)—they are buffeted about even further.

Today's ICBMs would probably have to come within 400-600 feet of an enemy missile silo to destroy it. Some analysts inside the Pentagon suggest that "bias" could throw the warhead off by two or three times that distance. Some scientists who study the upper layers of the atmosphere say that achieving the degree of accuracy required for counterforce is impossible; they are astonished when you tell them that nuclear strategists *assume* such accuracy.

"It's our universal feeling around here that it's nearly impossible to have a passive object land a few hundred meters from the target," says Professor James Walker of the Atmospheric and Oceanic Studies Department at the University of Michigan. "The Pentagon may not know how little we know about the upper atmosphere. The densities vary so radically and change so frequently that there is no way of knowing with any confidence how it will affect the trajectory of a reentry vehicle."

A problem at least as serious as accuracy, but hardly publicized at all, is missile reliability. In calculating "kill-probabilities" of missiles, defense analysts routinely assume that 80-85 percent of the missiles launched will be complete successes from takeoff to touchdown.

Many people familiar with these calculations blithely assume that this estimate reflects actual operational tests of ICBMs. Yet some Pentagon analysts and congressional aides who have seen classified reliability data say that this is not the case.

Rather, reliability figures are derived from a combination of electronic simulations of missile-launch equipment, statistical extrapolations of test-lab specifications and operational tests. Moreover, in actual tests, if the launch is ordered and it doesn't get off the ground—a total dud—it is not counted as a failure; it's called a "no-test." And, if the missile flies for a while, then goes dead or blows up—and if before doing so, *any* useful data is gathered at all—the test officers record it as a "partial success."

Between the "partial successes" and the "no-tests" room for "failure" is slim indeed.

There is a mechanical problem too. In the past the missile launching system was controlled by electronic chips bonded to the circuits in such a way that after a few years of sitting in the silos, the chips burned out. According to recent reports, this burn-out, known among chip manufacturers as the "purple plague," meant that very few of the missiles could actually have been launched.

Technicians I talked with say that the purple plague has since been cured, but that other circuitry problems—equally serious—remain. For example, radiation particles naturally emitted by electronic packages inside the missile can "zap the memory" of the guidance or communications systems, according to one technician who works on circuitry for a major aerospace manufacturer (and asked not to be identified). Moreover, this zapping can happen at any time, randomly. "As densities [of circuitry and wiring] increase," he continues, "the problem gets worse."

There are "so many different kinds of failure mechanisms that it's impossible to guarantee reliability," he says. "If it isn't purple plague, then it could be any of a number of other things." Other technicians say the same thing.

But official Washington does not. It took years for the military to discover purple plague—long after it had become common knowledge in Silicon Valley. Says one technician who worked on the problem, "I was shocked that the military didn't know anything about it." (Officials with access to raw intelligence data say that Soviet missiles are plagued with even graver ills.)

Ask higher-rank officials or public-affairs spokesmen in the Pentagon today about bias or reliability problems, and you'll get a variation on "We licked that problem years ago" or "We've just about solved that one." Scan Congressional hearings, and you'll scarcely find these issues mentioned. But go deeper into the bureaucracy and you'll find middle-level specialists familiar with the raw test data who will say (as one did in a conversation with me): "Bias? Yeah, it's a hell of a problem."

The implications of all this are profound. Certainly enough missiles will work to allow a devastating *retaliatory* blow. But if the military cannot be sure that its missiles will land close to enemy silos—or that they will even fire successfully 80 or 85 percent of the time—then all of the "nuclear war-fighting" strategies are the stuff of fairy tales. And if that is the case, then there is no rationale for the "first-strike" MX or Trident II missiles, for ABMs, or for many of the multi-billion dollar command-control systems coming down the pike.

The real danger is that the political and military leaders—on both sides—might not know about these technical problems, might go on talking about nuclear war-fighting as if the abstract plane of theory existed unencumbered by any real-world obstacles. This does seem to be the case in Washington today.

*continued on page 25*

BY JAMES MUNVES

# Nuclear Arms, The Law And You

International law touches us whenever we travel out of the country, in the form of health and visa regulations, and can reach us in other ways when enforced by our courts. Indeed, treaties signed by the United States are, according to the Constitution, the "supreme law of the land" and comprise the "customs and usages of civilized nations."

International law also governs the ways nations make war. It should, at the same time influence the choices we, as individuals, make about our involvement with the nuclear war machine.

Because they are not specifically forbidden by treaty, the armed forces of the United States regard nuclear weapons as lawful. As Army Field Manual 27-10 states: "The use of explosive 'atomic weapons,' whether by air, sea or land forces, cannot as such be regarded as violative of international law in the absence of any customary rule of international law or international convention restricting their employment."

While it certainly wouldn't hurt to have such a convention, it is the opinion of this writer and many students of the laws of war that the official U.S. position on nuclear weapons is a sophistry.

Nuclear weapons are illegal. The absence of an express prohibition is insignificant considering that the preamble to the 1907 Hague Convention Regulations provides for such future weapons developments: "in cases not included in the Regulations . . . the inhabitants and the belligerents remain under the protection and the rule of the principles of the law of nations, as they result from the usages established among civilized peoples, the laws of humanity and the dictates of public conscience."

Nuclear weapons have no use that does not contravene the laws of war, which are intended to curb barbarity by limiting warfare to combatants, protecting civilians and neutral nations, and preventing militarily irrelevant damage to property.

• International conventions have forbidden certain weapons as the technology for them developed: dum-dum bullets (the St. Petersburg Convention of 1868); "arms, projectiles or material calculated to cause unnecessary suffering" and poison or poisonous weapons (Hague Convention of 1907); "asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases, and . . . all analogous liquids, materials or devices . . . and bacteriological methods of warfare" (Geneva Protocol of 1925); napalm, certain fragmentation weapons, land mines, and booby traps (Geneva Convention, 1980).

• International conventions have forbidden certain military tactics: attacks on civilian hospitals, hospital convoys or trains (Geneva, 1949); attacks on the "civilian population as such, as well as individual civilians" and "acts or threats of violence the primary purpose of which is to spread terror among the civilian population . . ." (1977 Addition to the 1949 Geneva Convention). The same addition prohibits "indiscriminate attacks," which are spelled out clearly as attacks "which cannot be directed at a specific military objective" or that use a method which may strike military and civilian targets "without distinction."

• In no case are military commanders to apply force in a manner disproportionate to the object of their attack. "The right of belligerents to adopt means of injuring the enemy is not unlimited" (Hague Convention, 1907).

The military services of the United States and the Department of Defense are thoroughly familiar with these protocols, conventions and rules. They are promulgated in field manuals and reviewed in training sessions. The Defense Department's Instruction 5500.15 of October 16, 1974 provides that all actions of the Department "with respect to the acquisition and procurement of weapons, and their intended use in armed conflict, shall be consistent with the obligations assumed by the United States Government under all applicable treaties, with customary international law, and, in particular, with the laws of war."

Because of the abundance of international regulations against indiscriminate weapons of mass destruction, C.H. Builder and M.H. Graubard concluded in a recent Rand Corporation study that a "chasm . . . yawns between the international law and U.S. strategic nuclear policies." The same could be said of tactical nuclear weapons—artillery, small missiles and bombs with fractions of Hiroshima explosive power designed for use against enemy troops, tanks, and ships. Their use will still violate the 1907 Hague Regulations prohibiting the causing of unnecessary suffering (lingering radiation sickness, genetic damage to offspring) and the use of poisonous weapons.

The new "counterforce" weapons—the Pershing II, cruise missiles, the MX, the Trident II—are accurate enough to strike military, or primarily military, targets. Their explosive power, upwards of 100 kilotons, however, means their use would incur all the above violations. Moreover, use of such weapons would be a crime against peace and a crime against humanity, as defined by the Nuremberg Principles and incorporated into international law at the urging of the United States.

It has been argued that the laws against indiscriminate bombardment of cities were rendered obsolete by the massive bombings of Warsaw, Rotterdam, London, Berlin, Hamburg, Dresden, and Tokyo, during World War II, not to mention the nuclear devastations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The German war criminals, for example, were not convicted for their raids on London and

ILLUSTRATION BY MARTIN KOZLOWSKI

other cities because the Allied powers followed similar policies. Except in the case of Rotterdam, however, Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States announced these raids as reprisals undertaken in an eye-for-an-eye policy authorized by a law of war which, as an Air Force pamphlet states, permits "acts which, although . . . illegal in themselves . . . become justified because the guilty adversary has himself behaved illegally."

Since August 1979 a new protocol to the Geneva Convention of 1949 expressly forbids reprisals in the form of attacking civilians, even in reprisal for such acts by the enemy. And in 1964 a Japanese civil court did find the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in violation of international law.

International law, including laws of war, is not just binding on governments. "The law of war is binding not only upon States as such," Army Field Manual 27-10 correctly states, "but also upon individuals. . . ."

When Friedrich Flick and other German industrialists pleaded before the Nuremberg Tribunal that war crimes were solely affairs of state they were told that "International law, as such, binds every citizen just as does ordinary municipal law. . . . The application of international law to individuals is no novelty."

In 1971 Professor Richard Falk of Princeton University wrote in reference to the Vietnam War that "there are grounds to maintain that anyone who believes . . . that a war is being waged in violation of minimum canons of law and morality has an obligation of conscience to resist participation in and support of that war effort by every means at his disposal. In this respect, the Nuremberg Principles provide guidelines for citizens' conscience and a shield that can and should be used in the domestic legal system to interpose obligations under international law between the government and the society." In trials of those accused of destroying Selective Service files and, more recently, of those who, as acts of civil disobedience, have damaged nuclear warheads and Trident submarines, international law has been used as a defense, so far to no avail.

Bound as we are by international law, Americans—whether in or out of the armed services, whether or not engaged in the production and deployment of nuclear weapons—have a choice of resisting lawlessness or abetting it. We are either on one side or the other—either criminals ("good Germans" of the Hitler era) or obedient to international law. □

*James Munves is a freelance writer who frequently contributes to* The New Yorker *and has written several books on legal and political subjects.*



**BOOKS**

# One Man's Conversion

**ARCHITECT OR BEE**, by Mike Cooley. South End Press, $7 (paperback).

**THE LUCAS PLAN: A New Trade Unionism In The Making?**, by Hilary Wainwright and Dave Elliot. Allison and Busby, distributed by Schocken Books, $7.95 (paperback).

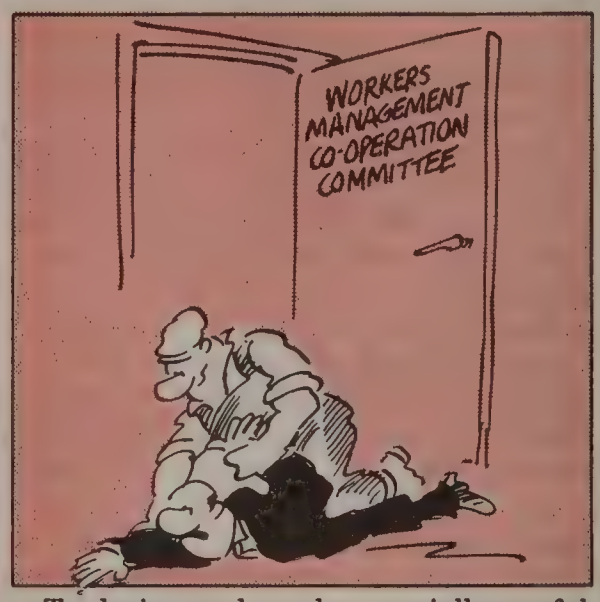
Perhaps the most serious challenge the international peace movement will confront in the coming years is the deterioration of the global economy. As the recent West German elections demonstrated, peace campaigners' accomplishments can be put in jeopardy if war-oriented production is widely considered the only solution to growing unemployment and economic chaos.

Economic conversion—the transformation from a military to a civilian economy—is the key to breaking the well-established equation between weapons production and jobs. Although a number of American peace and trade union groups have recently begun to study and promote this concept, the conversion issue remains peripheral in the American peace movement.

The situation is quite different in Europe where some of the peace movement's most creative and influential thinkers have proposed and acted upon concrete proposals for economic conversion, in the process winning the support of peace groups, trade unions and workers in the arms industry. Mike Cooley is one of the foremost of these advocates.

A former design engineer at Lucas Aerospace and a former president of the engineering union TASS, Cooley now works for the Greater London Council, Britain's largest and most progressive metropolitan council. Elected on a platform of restructuring London's industries (including the arms industry), the Council has created the Greater London Enterprise Board, which Cooley now directs. With some 3.2 million pounds ($4.8 million) at its disposal, the Board is now working with London's polytechnic universities to encourage the creation of human-centered systems that produce socially-useful products.

"If local industries are closing down," Cooley, a small man with wispy, rather longish blond hair, told me in February when we met at the Board's new offices across the river from the houses of Parliament, "we will help workers develop new products and help them establish companies to manufacture them instead of accepting structural unemployment or making more armaments."




To design and produce socially useful products that use rather than abuse workers' skills has been Cooley's preoccupation for the past 12 years. His book *Architect or Bee* is both an eloquent, pointed indictment of technology as it is used in today's marketplace, and an equally eloquent defense of technology as it could be used to humanize the workplace and transform the global economy.

Central to Cooley's thesis is *deskilling*, defined by *Webster's* as "mechanizing or breaking down so that performance may require little or no skill." In *Architect or Bee*, Cooley directly links the deskilling of workers—from the production worker with the least amount of formal training to the most highly-skilled engineer—to those military policies that have brought the world so close to nuclear holocaust

"The objective now," Cooley told me, "is to design machines that deskill the human being and deny him the dignity of working with his intelligence. The kind of technology encouraged by the military-industrial complex specifically creates machines for a worker with the mental age of 12.

"Moreover," he continued, "the military-industrial complex encourages us to develop systems of design where we no longer think of human beings—we think of human *materials*." Cooley argues that weapons that destroy human beings, as well as human skills, are the logical outcome of this. "If you view human beings

ILLUSTRATION FROM *THE LUCAS PLAN*

in production as just another material," he said, "it's absolutely internally consistent to say that we should have a neutron bomb which will destroy human beings and not property. First you put human beings at the same level as property, and then you simply do away with human beings and save property.

If the peace movement is going to effectively fight nuclear weapons, Cooley feels it must also fight the kinds of industrial policies that fuel the arms race. *The Lucas Plan* is a fascinating and detailed account of the workers' (Cooley included) battle against Britain's largest military aerospace contractor.

This fight began in 1970, when Lucas workers learned their company planned to lay off thousands of workers during a period of reduced demand for aerospace products. In order to fight unemployment, the workers discovered they had to do more than complain—they had to come up with a plan that would persuade management to shift to alternative production and thus avoid lay-offs.

The Lucas Shop Stewards Combine Committee, made up of shop stewards from all the unions in the company, came up with a list of 150 alternative products—a list that included heat pumps, road-rail vehicles and dialysis machines—that could make use of on-site technology and workers' skills. Workers indicated there was indeed a market for these products, but management dug in its heels and refused to consider any of the suggested alternatives. Although management, with the support of the Thatcher government, finally quashed the plan after a 10-year struggle, and fired a number of Lucas shop stewards, including Mike Cooley, the Combine Committee did manage to save thousands of jobs, and the Lucas Plan has been widely adopted as a working model by British trade unions and trade unions all over Europe. Several Lucas shop stewards, like Mike Cooley, are now working in metropolitan councils where they are putting their plan into action.

The genius of the Lucas plan, Cooley told me, is its ability to exploit advanced technology for human ends while producing profitable, marketable products. "Instead of whining about our technologically oriented society," he said, "we should design machines that reverse the process of deskilling. Designing such products in this way is a challenge worthy of the most highly-skilled scientist or engineer. Even the most straightlaced scientist or technician can find this whole process something that takes them right to the very frontier of their technical ability. They also find it very gratifying to work on the creation of constructive rather than destructive products."

By providing such challenges, Cooley and his colleagues have enlisted some of the most conservative scientists in the campaign for peace. At the same time, involving workers directly in the design process has allowed them to understand that war production is not the only solution to their economic problems.

Cooley believes that many American city governments can institute the same kinds of experiments: "A city government like Detroit that faces fantastic structural unemployment could begin to provide a market for socially useful products. It could seek out design help from academics who are quite close by—right there in Ann Arbor, for example—and quite soon you'd see some very impressive exemplary projects that produce socially useful work.

"From there, you could go on to urge the government to make these products profitable. As it stands now a person who has no heat, or who needs dialysis, must go around collecting pennies to pay for heat or pay for a kidney machine. We feel that we'd have a far more productive world if the arms makers were forced to go around collecting pennies to make bombs and aircraft and if the government bought heat pumps and kidney machines and served real human needs."

In Cooley's very practical engineer's mind, this is no utopian program. He understands the technology and can explain how to use it to woo the workers who are necessary to the success of the disarmament movement. His is an experiment that is worth watching. For the precedents it sets may be the building blocks of a world in which nuclear weapons, not human beings, become obsolete.

**—Suzanne Gordon**

# MISSILES

*continued from page 22*

The phenomenon is not unique to the Reagan Administration. In general, officers responsible for weapons systems shield top officials in their service branch from hearing about defects that might put their programs—and, consequently, their careers—in danger.

The United States pulled out of Vietnam not because the war was immoral but largely because government leaders realized we couldn't win. The ABM was defeated in Congress in 1972 not because officials thought it was "destabilizing," but because they realized it wouldn't work. One way to defeat the bevy of new nuclear warfighting missiles in today's defense budget might be to refocus the debate on considerations pertaining to the real world, to show that the missions for which these weapons were designed are—as Ronald Reagan said in an entirely different context—"a real dipsydoodle." □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BY ROBERT FRIEDMAN

# Reagan's Film-Flam Affair

"It was a hell of an explosion and, well, I guess that's all, sir."

With those immortal words, delivered in an unmistakable aw-shucks tone of voice, Lieutenant Ronald Reagan informed his commanding officer that an atomic bomb had just been dropped on the city of Hiroshima. The scene is from *Jap Zero*, a propaganda film produced by the War Department nearly 40 years ago to marshal American support for nuclear weapons. Now, ironically, it has found its way into another film, an antinuclear documentary financed by the Canadian government that the Reagan Administration wants to label as "political propaganda."

The decision by the Justice Department's Foreign Agent Registration Unit requiring the National Film Board of Canada to so label its 25-minute film, *If You Love This Planet*, as well as two other documentaries about acid rain, touched off what Reagan himself might have called "a hell of an explosion." There was a firestorm of protest in the press—*The New York Times* said the decision "shamed America's democracy"—Senator Edward Kennedy and other members of Congress were up in arms, and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), acting on behalf of the film's U.S. distributor, filed suit in federal court to block the ruling.

Of course, the Reagan Administration was right about one thing: The film *is* political propaganda. The Foreign Agent Registration Unit, which screens some 25 films from abroad each year, defines political propaganda as "any attempt to influence a segment of the American public with reference to the foreign policy of the United States." But by any definition of the term, *If You Love This Planet* is as much a work of political propaganda as *Jap Zero*. It is intended to arouse its audience, to influence opinions, to move people to act.

The film features a talk given by Dr. Helen Caldicott at a New York college campus two years ago. (This is the same talk about the horrors of nuclear war that Caldicott has given on numerous occasions throughout the United States, but which now, because it was shot by a Canadian filmmaker, must carry a warning label.) To illustrate Caldicott's lecture, director Terri Nash has made liberal use of stock footage from government archives, including formerly suppressed footage of Hiroshima bomb victims.

**Caldicott: Propaganda tool?**

Nash's little film is a powerful indictment of the arms race in general, and of U.S. nuclear policies in particular. In mid-February, it was nominated for an Academy Award in the category of best short documentary. But it wasn't until the Justice Department made its clumsy move that the film was assured an audience.

On February 23, Mitchell Block, president of Direct Cinema, the Los Angeles-based company that contracted last June to distribute *If You Love This Planet*, was informed that all prints of the movie would henceforth have to carry the following message: "This material is prepared, edited, issued or circulated by the National Film Board of Canada which is registered with the Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., under the Foreign Agents Registration Act as an agent of the Government of Canada. Dissemination reports on this film are filed with the Department of Justice where the required registration statement is available for public inspection. Registration does not indicate approval of the contents of this material by the United States Government."

The Canadians seemed willing to comply with the order. As Kenneth Shere, the film board's general manager in the United States, put it, "We're not all that crazy about having our films labeled as propaganda, but we're guests here and have no choice but to obey the law." Block, however, was inclined to fight.

"It was absolutely outrageous," says the film distributor whose company handles a number of other antinuclear films (*No Place to Hide, Eight Minutes to Midnight*). "We couldn't stand still for this kind of attempt to muzzle a movie. I mean, the idea of reporting the names of theaters and organizations that rent the film is so alien to me as an American."

What Block was upset about was not just having to put a warning label on the film but having to comply with the filing requirements of the Foreign Agents Registration Act as well. As an agent of a foreign government, the National Film Board of Canada is required to submit a "dissemination report" within 48 hours of the first showing of the film and every month thereafter. The report specifically asks for the names of all stations, organizations, or theaters using the film; the dates the film was broadcast or shown; and the estimated size of the audience. The only way the film board can provide this information to the government is to get it from Direct Cinema. And that puts Mitchell Block in an awkward position.

The Justice Department insists it is not trying to undermine anyone's rights. But the department has thus far failed to respond to a request for clarification from the ACLU as to what obligations Direct Cinema has under the Foreign Agents Registration Act. And, despite Russell's assurances to the contrary, the law does require the Canadian film board to provide the names of all organizations using the film. The government may choose not to press for this information in order to avoid a confrontation, but it now faces a courtroom battle over the constitutionality of the act itself. Stigmatizing certain films as political propaganda, the ACLU suit contends, is "arbitrary and capricious" and in clear violation of the First Amendment.

If, as the Justice Department says, its only interest is in disclosing the origin of a particular film—the act was passed in 1938 as a means of combatting clandestinely financed Nazi propaganda—then it need not have acted at all. The Canadian government, proud of its sponsorship, was hardly trying to conceal that fact.

Then what was the Foreign Agent Registration Unit up to? Was it trying to control the dissemination of unpopular ideas? Was it trying to warn people that watching a film about the end of the world might be hazardous to their health? Or was it simply trying to dispel that haunting image of a young Ronald Reagan smiling as we dropped the bomb on Japan? □



PHOTO COURTESY OF DIRECT CINEMA LIMITED

# •RESOURCES•

## FILMS AND SLIDE SHOWS

**If You Love This Planet** (26 minutes, $50 rental from Direct Cinema Ltd. Library, P.O. Box 315, Franklin Lakes, NJ 07417). Last month, this filmed lecture by Dr. Helen Caldicott, along with two others produced by the National Film Board of Canada, had the distinction of being labelled foreign propaganda by the Justice Department. *(See page 26.)*

**War Without Winners** (28 minutes, $50 rental from Films Inc., 8124 North Central Park Avenue, Skokie, IL 60676). This revised version of the Center for Defense Information film includes person-in-the-street interviews with Soviet citizens; Reagan and Gromyko speaking at the United Nations; and excerpts from a recent Soviet television broadcast in which American and Soviet doctors described the impact of nuclear war.

**Hostage at Hell's Bottom: The Economy and the Pentagon** (19-minute slide show with 140 slides, script and cassette. $20 rental for one showing; $10 for each additional showing, from Packard Manse Media Project, P.O. Box 450, Stoughton, MA 02072.) This slide program focuses on the enormity of the military industrial complex: the Pentagon, with $1.5 trillion in assets, is the largest single consumer of capital and technology in the world, and also "one of the main engines of inflation." The program describes several conversion programs and concludes on a hopeful note: the Pentagon's architects built it with ramps, so that it could be easily converted into a hospital after World War II.

## PACIFICA

**U.S. Nuclear Free Pacific Network** (942 Market Street, San Francisco, CA 94102) has a 140-slide show on U.S. nuclear testing in the Marshall Islands and its consequences in the Pacific, which can be rented for $15. Ask for a list of USNFPN books, booklets, and fact sheets on the growing antinuclear and independence movements in the Pacific.

**Pacific Concerns Resource Center** (P. O. Box 27692, Honolulu, HI 96827) publishes a newsletter, *Pacific Bulletin* (subscriptions are $10 a year), plus other resources, including nuclear histories of the Marshall Islands ($3) and Micronesia ($4.50).

## GUIDES & CATALOGS

**The Whole Freeze Catalog** ($3 from Citizen Action for Lasting Security, P. O. Box 12763, Salem, OR 97309), is an invaluable, 60-page compilation of everything you need to wage peace—from organizations to bumperstickers.

**The Disarmament Directory**, 1983 edition ($10, including postage, from Resource Center for Nonviolence, P.O. Box 2324, Santa Cruz, CA 95063). This guide to peace organizations in central and northern California will be updated every year; it is also available on a computerized data base. The compilers are anxious for feedback and for new entries, so if your group isn't listed, get in touch.

**Conscience and Military Tax Campaign** (44 Bellhaven Road, Bellport, NY 11713) publishes a tax packet ($5, or $6 first class mail) that provides a comprehensive guide to the whys and how-tos of tax resistance.

## KIDS' STUFF

**Children As Teachers of Peace**, edited by Gerald C. Jampolsky, *et al.* ($7.95 from Children as Teachers of Peace, 98 Main Street, #218, Tiburon, CA 94920). Drawings, essays, and statements ("If I were a teacher to the leaders of the world, I would say . . .") by children aged five to 12.

**Original Child Bomb**, by Thomas Merton ($5 from Unicorn Press, P.O. Box 3307, Greensboro, NC 27402). "Original Child" is a literal translation of one Japanese name for the Hiroshima bomb. This brief, understated history of the decision to drop atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki will move older children and adults.

**I Saw It**, by Keiji Nakazawa ($2 plus $1 postage from Educomics, Box 40246, San Francisco, CA 94140). A cartoon history of the bombing of Hiroshima by a survivor who was six years old in August 1945. This was a forerunner of Nakazawa's *Barefoot Gen* series.

## NEW BOOKS

**The Evolution of Nuclear Strategy**, by Lawrence Freedman (St. Martin's Press, $10.95 paper). This history of American strategic thinking begins right after World War I, when massive aerial bombardment was considered as much a doomsday weapon as the hydrogen bomb today. Freedman goes on to define massive retaliation, limited war, counterforce targeting, mutual assured destruction (MAD), and other highlights.

**Risk of Unintentional Nuclear War**, by Daniel Frei (Allanheld, Osmun & Co., $10.95 paper). This study by the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research concludes, surprisingly, that risk of accidental war is actually minimal—in fact, public focus on *Dr. Strangelove* or *Fail Safe*-type scenarios "misrepresent the problem and draw attention away from more serious risks."

**The Soviet Union and The Arms Race**, by David Holloway (Yale University Press, $14.95). Most of the literature on Soviet strategy and military programs since 1945 appears in journals that never reach the public. And thanks to Soviet secrecy, most Americans are ignorant of Soviet military politics. Holloway tries to outline what is known about the development of Soviet nuclear weapons and strategy, and concludes that while the Soviets want parity, they are not about to use their weapons aggressively.

**The Andropov File**, by Martin Ebon (McGraw-Hill, $16.95). An in-depth look at the life of General Secretary Yuri V. Andropov, from shiphand on the Volga to his rise to the pinnacle of Soviet power. Ebon, longtime student of the Soviet Union, attempts also to expose the forces that have had the greatest influence in shaping Andropov's opinions on various topics, from the United States to corruption in the Soviet economy. Ebon also delineates what he feels is Andropov's agenda for the future. The appendix contains a compilation of Andropov's speeches.

**The Soviet Viewpoint**, by Georgi A. Arbatov and Willem Oltmans (Dodd Mead, $13.50). A dialogue between the leading Soviet authority on the United States, Georgi A. Arbatov, and Dutch journalist Willem Oltmans, compiled from interviews conducted over a two-year period. The book covers topics such as the arms race, the antinuclear movement in the United States, U.S.-Soviet relations, Poland, Afghanistan, and human rights. Arbatov's statements, although attempting to show the Soviet Union in the best possible light, are serious and thoughtful responses to important issues.

**—Ann Marie Cunningham**

# •CALENDAR•

## CONTINUING EVENTS

**IF YOU WORK FOR PEACE, STOP PAYING FOR WAR** The National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee is organizing activities April 1-16 around the country to support people who want to withhold taxes as a form of opposition to the arms race. Scheduled events include vigils, demonstrations, and war tax clinics. For further information, contact NWTRCC c/o Center for Law and Pacifism, P.O. Box 1584, Colorado Springs, CO 80901 (303) 634-1416 or c/o Conscience and Military Tax Campaign, 44 Bellhaven Rd, Bellport, NY 11713 (516) 286-8825.

**CONSIDER THE ALTERNATIVES** This month's weekly series of radio programs includes: "First-strike Weapons," featuring April Moore of SANE and Frank von Hippel of the Federation of American Scientists; "On Reaganomics," with a discussion of military spending by Robert Heilbroner; "Draft Resistance," with Ben Sasway talking about links between the draft, nuclear weapons and foreign policy; "The Year of the Missiles," with Susan Lamb and Simone Wilkinson of the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp; "F.Y. '84: The Military Budget Battle," with Representatives Tom Downey and Bill Gray, Betsy Taylor of SANE, and Rachel Tompkins of the Childrens Defense Fund. For a monthly program guide to stations and schedules around the nation ($5), contact the SANE Education Fund, 5808 Greene St, Philadelphia, PA 19144 (215) 848-4100.

## APRIL 5

### NEW YORK

• **New York** Forum, "Turkey, Disarmament and the Western Alliance," with Dan Smith of European Nuclear Disarmament, Metin Kara, former Turkish Trade Union leader, and others. 901 Main Bldg, New York Univ., Washington Sq. *Contact*: Campaign for Peace and Democracy East and West, 301 W 105 St No. 2R, New York 10025.

## APRIL 6

### FLORIDA

• **Tallahassee** Panel discussions on nuclear war, and the film, "Eight Minutes to Midnight"—part of a week-long series "Remembrance and Premonition: Holocaust in Perspective"; Presbyterian University Ctr, 548 W Park Av.

### MASSACHUSETTS

• **Cambridge** Slide show, "The Buddha Is Smiling," about the development of nuclear arms and power in several Asian nations, and the role of the U.S. in proliferation. Presented by Michael Bedford of the Center for Development Policy; Mobilization for Survival, 727 Massachusetts Av, Cambridge 02139 (617) 354-0008.

## APRIL 7

### FLORIDA

• **Gainesville** Talk on the medical consequences of nuclear war by Dr. Irwin Redlener of PSR; Medical Sciences Aud, 2nd flr, J. Hillis Miller Health Ctr, Univ of Florida College of Medicine. *Contact*: Mark Scarborough (904) 373-8447.

### NEVADA

• **Las Vegas** "Alternative Visions of the Good Society: Economics As if People Mattered," with workshops on comparative economic systems and economic implications of the arms race; Ryan Hall through Apr 9. *Contact:*Franciscan Center, 704 W McWilliams, Las Vegas, NV 89106 (702) 647-3610.

## APRIL 8

### ILLINOIS

• **Chicago** Dance concerts, through Apr 9, to raise funds for the May 8 Mothers' Day Peace Festival, with over 50 performing artists, including the Cambodian Folk Theater of North America; Dance Center, Columbia College. *Contact:* Help End the Arms Race, 343 S Dearborn, Rm 705, Chicago, IL 60604 (312) 663-1227.

### MISSOURI

• **Kansas City** "Peace and Justice," the Raymond Bragg Symposium on Humanism, with Rev. William Sloane Coffin, Anne Fagan Ginger, and workshops on peace and human rights through Apr 10; All Souls Unitarian Church, 4500 Warwick. *Contact:* Audra or Delta Gier, 3512 Kenwood, Kansas City, MO 64109 (816) 561-2867.

### NEBRASKA

• **Omaha** Conference, "The Medical Management of Radiation Disasters," with Paul Beeson and others; Peter Kiewet Conference Center, Univ. of Omaha. *Contact:* Janice Rustia (402) 397-7255 or Janet Reuter, 804,N 11 St, Omaha, NE 68102 (402) 341-1821.

## APRIL 9

### CONNECTICUT

• **Hartford** Conference, "Jobs, the Freeze, and the Economy," with Betty Lall, Dave McFadden, and Irving Stolberg; Unitarian Meeting House. *Contact:* Connecticut Campaign for a US-USSR Nuclear Arms Freeze, Rd 1, Box 494, Voluntown, CT 06384 (203) 376-4098.

### FLORIDA

• **Miami** National Physicians for Social Responsibility symposium, "Medical and Psychological Consequences of Nuclear Weapons and War," with Drs. Alan Lockwood, Jack Geiger and John Mack, Paul Warnke and others; Knight Center. *Contact:* PSR/Miami, 7210 Red Road, Suite 208, Miami, FL 33143.

### LOUISIANA

• **New Orleans** Southern regional conference on working against the Pershing II and cruise missiles; housing is available. *Contact:* Lance Hill, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, P.O. Box 15036, New Orleans, 70175 (504) 366-7009.

### MASSACHUSETTS

• **Amherst** Conference, "Organizing for Disarmament in High Schools," for all Western Massachusetts high school students and teachers; Amherst Regional High School. *Contact:* Warren Goldstein, STOP Nuclear War (413) 498-5311.

• **Northampton** "The Psychology of the Nuclear Arms Race," with Robert Jay Lifton, M.D. and Jerome Frank, M.D.; Smith College. *Contact:* Traprock Peace Center, Keets Rd, Deerfield, MA 01342 (413) 773-7427.

### INDIANA

• **Battleground** Statewide "Peace Tree Workshop," to explore peaceful living at the personal, family, community and world levels; Conference Center, through Apr 10. *Contact:* Lafayette Peace Coalition, University Church, P.O. Box 3024, W. Lafayette, IN 47906 (317) 743-3861.

### WEST VIRGINIA

• **Morgantown** March and rally in support of military tax resistance. *Contact:* Morgantown War Resisters League, P.O. Box 744, Morgantown, WV 26505 (304) 292-6528.

## APRIL 10

### NATIONWIDE

During Jobs with Peace Education Week, through Apr 16, local coalitions of labor, peace, women's, students' and church groups will examine the relations between military spending and jobs, services, and human needs. Over 100 communities have planned activities. For literature on how to prepare a peace budget, school curricula, and organizers' materials, contact either Jobs with Peace National Network, 2940 16th St, Room B-1, San Francisco, CA 94103 (415) 558-8615 or Mobilization for Survival, 853 Broadway, Room 2109, New York, NY 10003 (212) 533-0008.

### ILLINOIS

• **Chicago** "Artists for Peace," a juried exhibition of Chicago area artists; The Peace Museum, 364 W Erie St, Chicago, IL 60610 (312) 440-1860.

• **Evanston** "Musica Humana," a benefit concert for the nuclear freeze; Unitarian Church of Evanston, 1330 Ridge Av. *Contact:* (312) 491-6169 or 328-3224.

### NEW YORK

• **Buffalo** Gail Danneker of SANE will be giving talks on the Euromissiles at the Lafayette Presbyterian Church, Lafayette and Elmwood (Apr 10) and Woldman Theater, Norton Hall, State Univ. of New York at Buffalo, Amherst Campus (Apr 11). *Contact:* Western New York Peace Center, 440 Leroy Av, Buffalo, NY 14214 (716) 838-4910.

• **Great Neck** Discussion, "Jobs, Health Care and the Military Budget," with Seymour Melman and Victor Sidel; Great Neck South Middle School, 349 Lakeville Rd. *Contact:* Jack Lawrence, 502 N Brookside Av, Freeport, NY 11520 (516) 378-3535.

• **New York** Poetry reading, to benefit Jobs with Peace, including Thomas Lux, Michael Burkhard, Patricia Jones, Sekou Sundiata, and others; St. Malachi's Church, 239 W 49 St. *Contact:* Jobs with Peace/NY, 135 W 4 St, New York, NY 10012 (212) 673-1808.

• **New York** Public forum, "The Quest for Peace: The Freeze and Beyond," with Retired Adm. Gene LaRocque, Father Drinan and Gordon Adams; New York Society for Ethical Culture, 2 W 64 St, New York, NY 10023 (212) 874-5210.

## APRIL 12

### COLORADO

• **Denver** Talk, "The Reagan Administration and Nuclear War," by Robert Scheer, author of *With Enough Shovels*; Dennison Auditorium, Univ of Colorado School of Medicine. *Contact:* Physicians for Social Responsibility, P.O. Box 20608, Denver, CO 80220 (303) 399-1664.

### WASHINGTON

• **Seattle** Discussion, "The Enemy Mindset and the Roots of War: Consideration of the Psychological Patterns that Drive the Arms Race," with Virginia Hoyte, a Jungian therapist, and others; University Friends Center, 4001 Av NE, Seattle, WA.

## APRIL 13

### NEW YORK

• **New York** "Protest and Survive: The Quest for Peace in Europe and America," a forum with E.P. Thompson, British social historian and co-founder of European Nuclear Disarmament, and Randall Forsberg, to benefit END and the Nation Institute; Beacon Theater, Broadway & 74th St, (212) 874-1717.

## APRIL 14

### CONNECTICUT

• **Hartford** Film series at the University of Hartford, including: "Missiles of October," introduced by Victor D'Lugin, Faculty Dining Room, Gengras Center (Apr 14); "Doctor Strangelove," introduced by Paul Stacy, Greer Auditorium (Apr 22); "War Game," in conjunction with the monthly meeting of Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Hartford, Medical Society Bldg (Apr 26). *Contact:* (203) 236-0276.

## APRIL 16

### CALIFORNIA

• **Santa Cruz** Prayer for Peace, "Meditation, Contemplation and Nonviolence in Our Nuclear Age," with Alan Nelson, director of the Peace Project, through Apr 17; Resource Center for Nonviolence, P.O. Box 2324, Santa Cruz, CA 95063 (408) 423-1626.

### FLORIDA

• **St. Petersburg** Tax Day Peace Action, "Feed People, Not the Pentagon"; Williams Park. *Contact:* AFSC, Tampa Bay Area Peace Education Program, 130 19th Av, SE, St. Petersburg, FL 33705 (813) 822-5522.

### IOWA

• **Indianola** Town meeting on disarmament; Simpson College. *Contact:* Dana Lindley, (515) 961-7144.

### ILLINOIS

• **Chicago** Policy conference, "No First Use of Nuclear Weapons," with George Kennan, Ruth Adams, Retired Adm. John M. Lee, Jerome Grossman, Christoph Bertram of "Die Zeit," and others; First Chicago Center, One First National Plaza. *Contact:* Council for a Livable World Education Fund, 11 Beacon St, Boston, MA 02108 (617) 742-9395.

### MICHIGAN

• **Lansing** PSR symposium, "Nuclear War: The Last Epidemic," with Marion Anderson, Drs. Jonathan Fine, Quentin Young, Jerome Frank, and others; Civic Center. *Contact:* PSR/Central Michi-

gan, 301 Jones St, Lansing, MI 48912 (517) 351-0206, 371-2016, 372-1438 or 484-5273.

### NEW JERSEY

• **Morristown** Conference, "Jobs, Peace and Justice," with speakers, workshops and films; Church of the Redeemer, 26 South St. *Contact:* Morris County SEA Alliance, Box 271, New Vernon, NJ 07976 (201) 538-6676,-6699.

### NORTH CAROLINA

• **Durham** Concert by Mimi Farina, to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the War Resisters League. *Contact:* WRL/Southeast, 604 W Chapel Hill St, Durham, NC 27701 (919) 682-6374.

## APRIL 17

### MINNESOTA

• **Minneapolis** Rally in preparation for civil disobedience actions the next day, with Philip Berrigan, music, and poetry; Willey Hall, Univ. of Minnesota. *Contact:* Honeywell Project, 3255 Hennepin Av S, Rm 101, Minneapolis, MN 55408 (612) 827-5362 ext 24.

### NEW YORK

• **New York** "Making Peace Possible: Fifth National Riverside Church Convocation to Reverse the Arms Race," through Apr 19, with Giacomo Cagnes of the Comiso peace movement, Vladimir Shustov, Soviet Ambassador to the UN, a report on Nicaragua by Bianca Jagger, the Rev. William Sloane Coffin, Cecil Garland of Ranchers for Peace, Rep. William Gray, Simone Wilkinson of the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp. "Peace Child," a folk-rock musical, with a cast of 200 children, will be performed Apr 17. *Contact:* The Riverside Church Disarmament Program, 122 St at Riverside Dr, New York, NY 10027 (212) 222-5900.

### OKLAHOMA

• **Midwest City** Conference, "Shalom Spring," including Marilyn McDonald from World Peacemakers and workshops on different aspects of national security; First Christian Church. *Contact:* Oklahoma Peace Strategy, 9608 Sonata Court, Midwest City, OK 73130 (405) 732-4336.

### PENNSYLVANIA

• **Philadelphia** Benefit "Concert for Humanity" by Philadelphia Musicians Against Nuclear War, including members of the Philadelphia Orchestra, conducted by Riccardo Muti, and with soloists Andre Watts (piano) and Wilhelmenia Fernandez (soprano). To benefit PSR and the Campaign for a Nuclear Freeze. *Contact:* Philadelphia PSR, P.O. 13419, Philadelphia, PA 19101 (215) 569-3419.

## APRIL 18

### NATIONWIDE

Student Network for Nuclear Disarmament is coordinating campus freeze referenda at colleges across the country, through Apr 19. (Campuses that have already voted in favor of a freeze include Hampshire, Brown, Haverford, Williams, State Univ. of New York at Albany, Stanford, Dartmouth, Univ. of Iowa, and others.) *Contact:* Student Network for Nuclear Disarmament, c/o Brown Disarmament Group, Box 1930, Brown Univ, Providence, RI 02912 (401) 274-3467.

### MINNESOTA

• **Minneapolis** Civil disobedience at Honeywell Corporate Headquarters; Honeywell Plaza, followed by a peaceful demonstration during the annual shareholders' meeting, Apr 19. *Contact:* See *April 17*, Minnesota.

### PENNSYLVANIA

• **Shippensburg** Shippensburg State College Peace Festival, through Apr 23, including a talk by Rep. Toby Moffett, the film "Atomic Cafe," and other activities. *Contact:* United Campus Ministry, Box 366, Shippensburg State College, Shippensburg, PA 17257 (717) 532-1672.

## APRIL 19

### GEORGIA

• **Athens** City Council hearing on a nuclear freeze resolution and crisis relocation planning; City Hall. *Contact:* Northeast Georgia Campaign for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze, 1010 S Lumpkin St, Athens, GA 30605 (404) 725-7717.

### NEW YORK

• **Brooklyn** Preview for critics of the Japanese artist Kazuaki Kita's exhibit Apr 20-June 5 of ceramics, which include his series of Hiroshima Death Masks; the Brooklyn Museum. *Contact:* Milton Lowenthal, Union of American and Japanese Professionals Against Nuclear Omnicide, 2628-A Walnut St, Harrisburg, PA 17109.

## APRIL 21

### ILLINOIS

• **Chicago** Luncheon talk, "Bombs or Bread," by Marion Anderson, director of Employment Research Associates; Midland Hotel, 172 West Adams. *Contact:* Ron Freund, Clergy and Laity Concerned, 220 S State St, Chicago, IL 60604 (312) 922-8234.

### MINNESOTA

• **St. Paul** Lecture, "Priorities and Alternatives in a Hurting Human Community," by the Reverend Jon Nelson and Mrs. Ruth Youngsdahl Nelson; Student Center Ballroom. *Contact:* Robert Englund, News Director, Hamline Univ, 1536 Hewitt Av, St. Paul, MN 55104 (612) 641-2216.

### WISCONSIN

• **Milwaukee** "Ecumenical Peace Event," through Apr 23, with the most Reverend Dom Helder Camara of Brazil, the Rev. William Sloane Coffin, Dr. Elizabeth Bettenhausen, and others; Red Carpet Hotel. *Contact:* Shirley W. Coffman, 1955 W Broadway, Suite 104, Madison, WI 53713 (608) 222-9779.

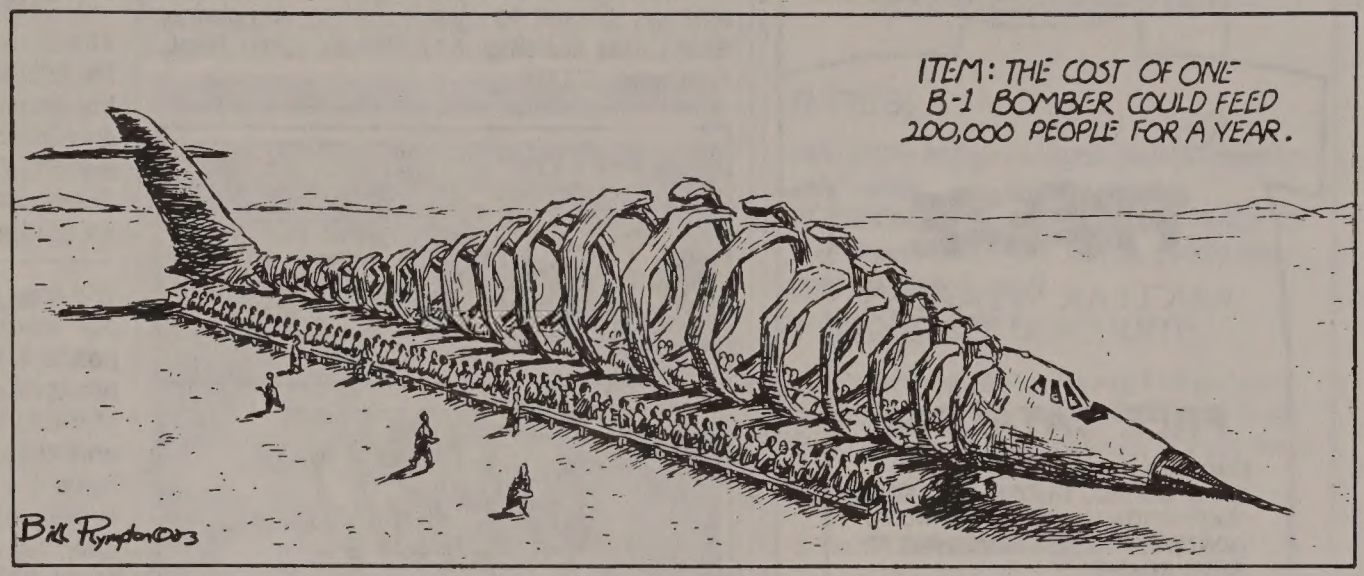
## APRIL 23

### ILLINOIS

• **River Grove** Illinois Nuclear Weapons Freeze Convention; Mother Guerin High School, 8001 W. Belmont. *Contact:* (312) 922-2423.

### NEW YORK

• **New York** Conference to develop a national campaign to oppose President Reagan's civil defense program; interested organizations are invited to send representatives. *Contact:* Civil Defense Strategy Conference, c/o Intercommunity Center for Justice & Peace, 20 Washington Sq. N, New York, NY 10011.




### NORTH CAROLINA

• **Chapel Hill** Physicians for Social Responsibility symposium, "Biomedical Consequences of Nuclear Weapons and Nuclear War," with Herbert Scoville, Jr., Drs. Robert Lifton, Judith Lipton, and others; Memorial Auditorium, Univ of North Carolina. *Contact:* Dan Young, Univ of North Carolina School of Medicine, 338 Clinical Science Bldg, Chapel Hill, NC 27514 (919) 966-4602.

## APRIL 24

### ARIZONA

• **Phoenix** Rally and festival for better U.S.-Soviet relations and against nuclear war, with speakers and music; Encanto Park Bandshell. *Contacts:* Kathy Schwarz, 5901 E Vernon, Scottsdale, AZ 85257 (602) 946-6103 or Mag Seaman, 3825 E Camelback Rd No. 150, Phoenix, AZ 85018 (602) 956-1755.

## APRIL 28

### MASSACHUSETTS

• **Northampton** As part of the "Confronting the Arms Race" dialogue series, the film "Controlling Interest: The World of the Multinational Corporations" will be shown, followed by a talk by Don Tormey, international labor representative; Unitarian Society. *Contact:* AFSC/Western Massachusetts, 3 Langworthy Rd, Northampton, MA 01060 (413) 584-8975.

## APRIL 29

### NEW YORK

• **Stella Niagara** Workshops, "Global Spirituality: Integrating Peace and Social Justice Concerns into a Christian Lifestyle," through May 1. Includes discussion of the question "How do we remain people of hope and live with the threat of a nuclear holocaust?"; Center of Renewal, 4421 Lower River Rd. *Contacts:* Western New York Peace Center, 440 Leroy Av, Buffalo, NY 14215 (716) 835-4073 or Center for Justice, 2278 Main St, Buffalo, NY 14214 (716) 838-4910.

## APRIL 30

### WISCONSIN

• **Milwaukee** Educators for Social Responsibility conference, "Teaching in the Nuclear Age: The Quest for World Peace," on how to introduce the subject of nuclear war in the classroom; Univ of Wisconsin at Milwaukee Student Union. *Contacts:* Joe O'Malley, 2571 N Oakland Av, Milwaukee, WI 53211 (414) 224-7120 or Larry Nelson (414) 542-4767.

## MAY 1

### CALIFORNIA

• **San Francisco** Films shown to benefit the Livermore Action Group and the Vandenberg Action Group; The Red Victorian Theater. *Contact:* The Body Electric, 519 Van Buren Av. Oakland, CA 94610 (415) 839-5679.

### ILLINOIS

• **Chicago** Catholics for Peace is organizing activities around the May 2-3 Catholic Bishops' Meeting on the Pastoral Letter on War and Peace. There will be a prayer service May 1 in Seneca Park (Chicago Av at Seneca St), followed by a pilgrimage to Federal Plaza and an all-night vigil within the Palmer House Hotel through May 2, where the bishops will be meeting. *Contact:* Eighth Day Center for Justice, 22 E Van Buren, Chicago, IL 60605 (312) 427-4351.

### WASHINGTON

• **Seattle** Films, "If You Love This Planet" and "Dark Circle," to benefit Northwest Nuclear Xchange; Neptune Theater, 1303 NE 45 St. *Contact:* Good Shepherd Center, 4649 Sunnyside Av N, Seattle, WA 98103 (206) 632-3193.

## MAY 6

### CALIFORNIA

• **Philo** Workshop, "Peacemaking in the Parish: Taboo or not Taboo?", to help improve communications skills of persons active in peacemaking, through May 8. *Contact:* Wellspring Renewal Center, P.O. Box 332, Philo, CA 95466 (707) 895-3893.

*Thanks to everyone who mailed us information for the Calendar. The deadline for submitting May events is April 8.*

**—Compiled by Walter Lew with Renata Rizzo and Alex Sichel**

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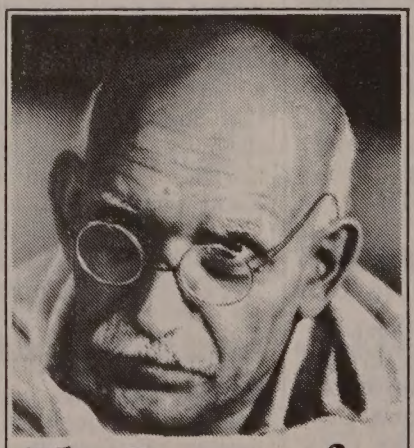

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## GOOD READING

The Spring issue of **BRIDGE**: Asian American Perspectives (May 1983) will highlight feature stories on Asian women and the disarmament movement and the Korean survivors of the atomic bombings. Subscriptions for the quarterly magazine are $10 per year and $3 per single copy. Contact: **BRIDGE,** *Asian Cine Vision, 32 East Broadway, New York, NY 10002 (212) 925-8685.*

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*The May 1983* **The Bible Today** will be a special issue exploring the scriptural basis of peace. It is intended to provide further biblical background for, and coincide with, the release of the U.S. Bishops' pastoral letter on peace and disarmament. Orders for this special issue are being taken now. We can guarantee to honor all orders received by 25 April; thereafter, as supply lasts. The cost per copy is $2.00 (U.S.); or, for ten or more copies all to one address, $1.30 each. Address orders to: *Peace Issue,* **The Bible Today,** *Collegeville, Minnesota 56321.*

## ACTION

**Peace Exchanges**
The International Christian Youth Exchange (ICYE) seeks candidates ages 18–24, to spend a year working with peace organizations in Europe/Japan. Examples of available placements:

- working in the international office of IKV, Hague, Netherlands
- organizing peace camps in Comiso, Sicily
- working with grassroots groups in Germany against further deployment of nuclear weapons in Europe

Experience in US peace movement recommended. Scholarship assistance and Academic credit available. Further information, application: *ICYE, Peace Exchange Program, 74 Trinity Place, New York, NY 10006 Telephone: (212) 349-3053*

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## ACTION

### EXCITING CONFERENCE

April 23–24, Kingston, New York. **Living in the Nuclear Age: Medical, Psychological and Educational Implications.** Networking, strategizing, futurizing within and across professions. With Eric Chivian M.D., MIT; Milton Schwebel Ph.D., Rutgers; Cetsuko Thurlow M.S.W., Toronto. Registration closes April 15. (914) 331-0830.

### FIGHT REAGANOMICS

ACORN, grassroots organization of low and moderate income families in 26 states, needs organizers to build neighborhood groups. Issues include jobs, housing, health care, neighborhood deterioration, etc. Help build an organization that fights back and wins. Training provided.
*Contact Kay Jaeger, ACORN, 117 Spring, Syracuse, NY 13208 (315) 476-0162.*

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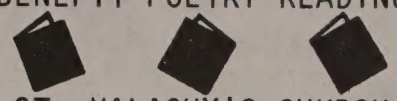

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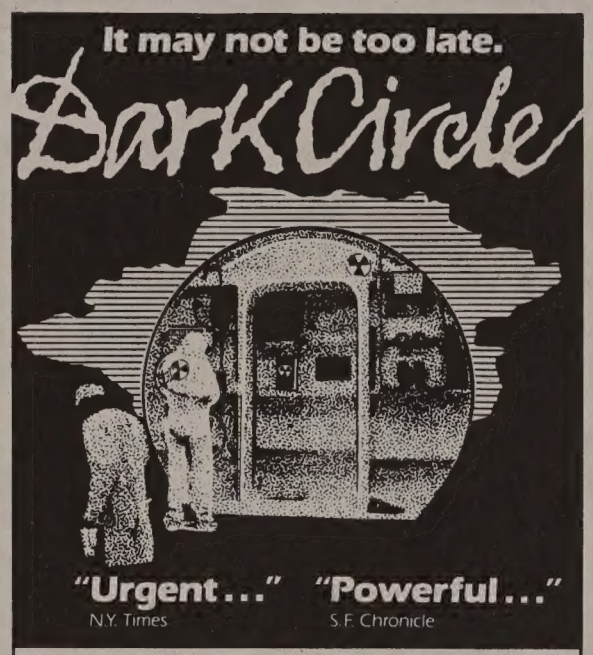


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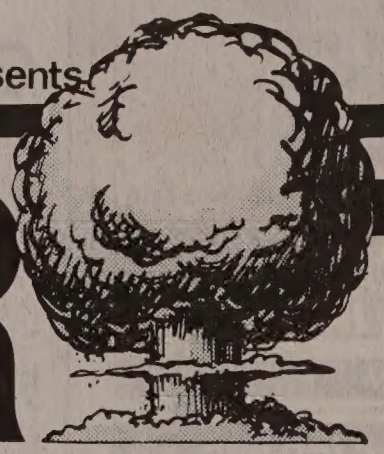

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